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The Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D.
Appointed Rector April 22nd. 1784. Consecrated Bishop of New York. 1787.
Resigned the Rectorship November 1st. 1800.

A Histo[illegible]

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Co[illegible]

by order of t[illegible] [illegible]poration

and Edited by

[illegible]

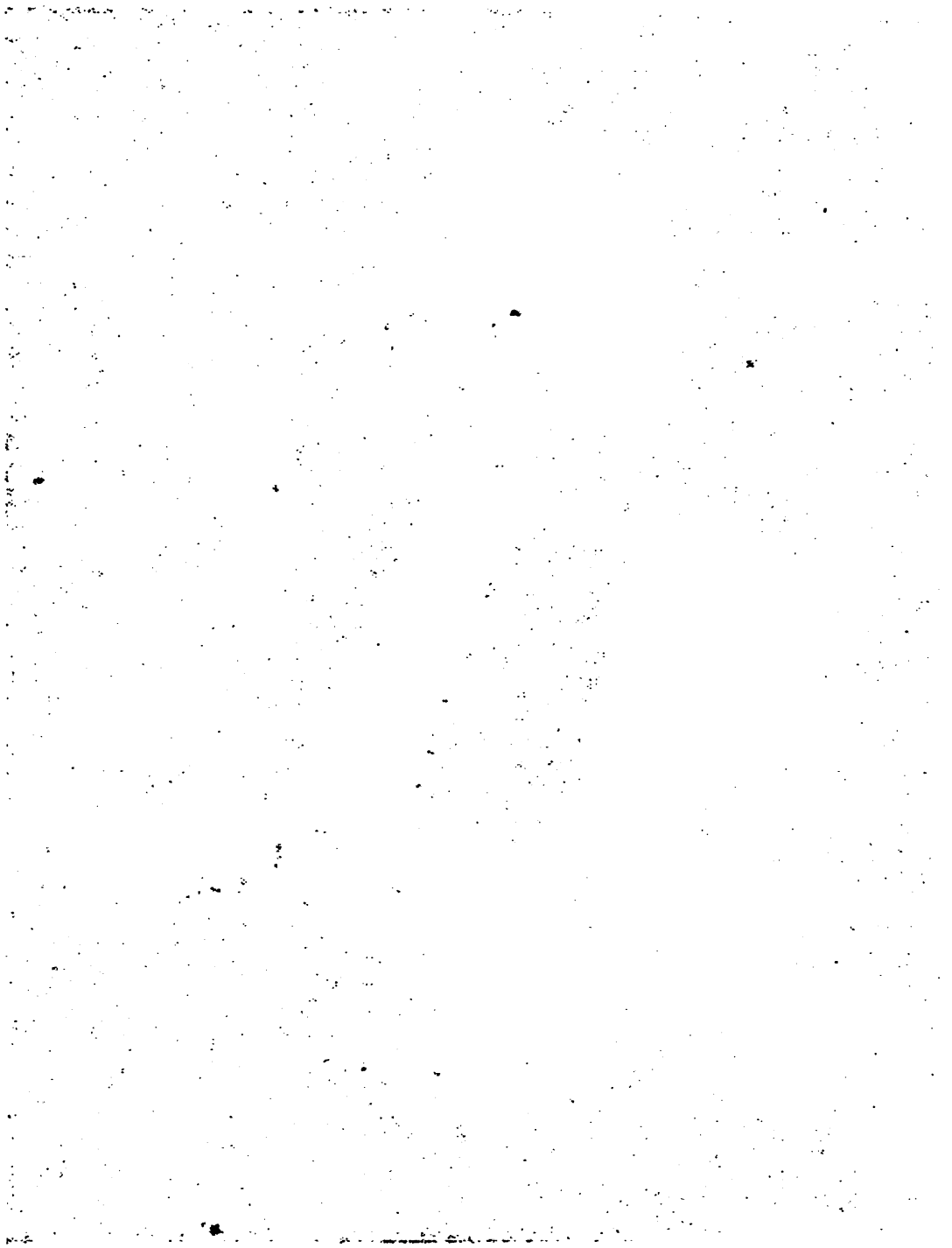
Ninth Rector

Part II

To the close of the Rectorship of Dr. Moore, A.[illegible]

New York

The Knickerbocker Press
1901



A History

of the

Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York

Compiled
by order of the Corporation

and Edited by
Morgan Dix, S.T.D., D.C.L.
Ninth Rector

Part II

To the close of the Rectorship of Dr. Moore, A.D. 1816

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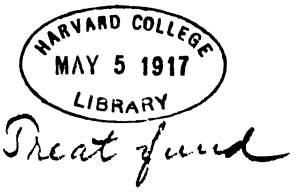

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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

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INTRODUCTORY.

IN taking in hand to write a history of the great and ancient Parish of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, I decided to cast my work into separate parts as might be needed; of these, Part First was completed and published in the year 1898. It embraced the Pre-Revolutionary period, from the date of the Charter, May 6, 1697, to that of the end of the Rectorship of the Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D., fourth in the line of Rectors, who resigned that office at the close of the war, when the British forces evacuated the city, in 1783. I now proceed to Part Second, which will constitute the second volume. It begins with the year 1783, and ends with 1816, including the Rectorships of Bishop Provoost and Bishop Moore, and ending with the date on which Bishop Hobart was elected to the office. Part Third, when completed, will cover the rectorial terms of Bishop Hobart and Dr. William Berrian, my immediate predecessor; and there my labors as historian of the Parish will end.

The period now before us is interesting on many accounts, and particularly because of the character, policy, and methods of the chief actors on the stage of events. They were three of the most eminent men of their time; I say three, for although this volume ends when the Rec-

torship of Hobart begins, he had been Assistant Minister and Assistant Rector during the last sixteen of the years included in the narrative; this volume will, therefore, contain an anticipative sketch of his preparation for what was to follow. Provoost, Moore, and Hobart, each Bishop of the Diocese as well as Rector of Trinity, have left their imprint on the annals of the Church, although they differed greatly in character, policy, and aims. Each had a special work to do; and each was called of God at the time when he was needed in a large design.

In one of the sacristies at the northwest corner of Trinity Church there is a Memorial, consisting of an altar tomb, and a window above it in colored glass, commemorating the first four Bishops of the Diocese of New York. On the altar slab below lies the effigy of the fourth Bishop, Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk; the window back of the niche has three compartments, in which appear the figures of the first, second, and third of the line. The painter has conveyed, with skill and happy effect, some general ideas suggested by the life and acts of the three prelates. Bishop Provoost bears in the left hand a little image of a ship, reminding us of his voyages across the stormy sea to obtain the grace of the Apostolic Episcopate in England. His right feebly holds the pastoral staff, slanting as though about to fall from the tired hand; for long before his death he had lost, by illness and weakness, the power to rule his diocese, and was compelled to spend his closing years in retirement from the scene of public affairs. Bishop Moore, mild of countenance, raises the right hand in the act of benediction; an appropriate gesture in one remarkable for sanctity of life and the calming influences exerted on the age and the Church. The third, Bishop Hobart, challenges attention by an air of resolution and a piercing gaze forward; moreover, he handles his episcopal

staff as a warrior would a weapon, holding it firmly in his grasp, and seeming to strike the ground therewith, as if to bruise the head of God's enemies and rule them with a rod of iron. Such are the idealized pictures of the three men whose actions we are about to note; each correct as a portrait, and true to life, if we may judge by comparison with the authentic representations of them in an interesting collection of paintings in the sacristy of Trinity Chapel, from which the limner in colored glass probably copied them; and each thoroughly characteristic of the manners and disposition of the men.

The period covered in this portion of my work presents material for careful study by those who have time and a mind for more full investigation. The fortunes of the Parish are intimately connected with those of the general Church throughout the United States. The transition from the old colonial existence to that of freedom from foreign rule, and the independence of a sovereign nation; the dangerous passage through a tideway abounding with rocks on which the ship of the Church might easily have been wrecked; the consolidation of isolated Dioceses under a general Constitution; the frequent battles for right and undisturbed possession of the Estate and Endowments of the Corporation; the erection of new churches as the parish grew; the call of priests to offices in the clerical staff, and their conduct in their several positions; the management of a great and sacred trust by the Vestry; the histories of the several Rectors, with such memoranda of their forbears as might serve for illustration; questions involving the rights of parishioners and the status of congregations forming one by one under the wing of the Mother of Churches; contentions of more or less importance, some ephemeral, and some running into prolonged and pernicious controversy; the manners of citizens, the

progress of the town from a little place to proportions never dreamed of by the founders or the public; these are among the matters to be treated of in our ensuing chapters. And I venture to say that he who, in a Christian habit of mind, and with candor, will peruse the narrative of those thirty-three years, must acknowledge that the Hand of an overruling Providence is distinctly seen at work for the defence of His Church and the benefit of His people.

My own labors in the preparation of this volume have been lightened by the aid of the Rev. Arthur Lowndes, D.D., by whom the material was collected, arranged, and prepared for editorial handling. Without such assistance I should have been unable to carry on the plan of compiling a complete history of the Parish without very long delays; nor then, perhaps, before the arrival of that inevitable hour when no man can work. He has been indefatigable in his researches among our Records in the Church Office; in the libraries of the City; in the State Library at Albany; in other American cities, and in England. In putting this material into shape for publication, I have been grateful for the intelligence, care, and perseverance exhibited by Dr. Lowndes, and sensible of obligations which it gives me pleasure to acknowledge.

And now this volume is given to those whom it may interest from the press of the Messrs. George P. Putnam's Sons, to whom I am indebted for the admirable manner in which they have done their part of the work; in the hope that the history of our venerable Parish may justify the claim to the confidence and regard of the Church, and particularly of those in other parishes who look back to her from their own places as we are wont to do, with kindly recollection of friend and father's friend; as we look to a power which was the stay of the house-

hold of faith in critical years long since past, and is to-day keeping up the worship of Almighty God and the dignity of religion where every other visible symbol of the Church of Christ has disappeared; still holding out hands to the dwellers in the desolate places, and still telling of the Love of the Father, the Passion of the Son, and the Life-giving Grace of the Holy Ghost; to whom be glory and honor evermore.

Trinity Rectory,
Eve of the Purification,
February 1, 1900.

A HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF TRINITY CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

Election of Mr. Benjamin Moore—Dissatisfaction of the Whig Episcopalians and their Proceedings to Annul the Election—Request for a Conference—Its Result—Proposals Decided by the Vestry—The Council for the Temporary Government of the Southern Part of the State—The Petition of the Whig Members—Extraordinary Action of the Vestry—Coalition Proposed—Rectorship to be Abolished—Proposal Declined by the Whigs—Property of Corporation Vested in Trustees by Act of Council—Arrival of Samuel Provoost—Appointed Rector by Trustees—Notification to Mr. Moore—Mr. Moore's Reply.

NO period in the history of our venerable Parish was fraught with greater danger than that of the transition from the old to the new, in the years 1783–4. The ship was sailing in a narrow channel with reefs on either hand. Churchmen in the province were arranged in two parties, and these parties were in opposition; each deeply in earnest, each strongly attached to the Church, but differing entirely as to the course which ought to be taken. A stiff controversy was in progress for many months, happily without breach of Christian courtesy on either side; and what strikes us forcibly is the fact that the men in sympathy with the Revolution, presumably likely to form a radical party, were actually the more conservative, while the proposition which, if adopted, would have led to

the ecclesiastical defacement of the Parish, and, eventually, to a troublesome and pernicious schism, came from those who had been in power during the English domination. The story is a long one, and somewhat involved; but its importance justifies a detail of the circumstances more full than I have noted in any of our church histories to the present day.

On the 3d of November, 1783, the treaty was signed, in Paris, by which His Britannic Majesty acknowledged the independence of the United States, relinquished all claim to their government, and consented to treat with them as a free and independent people. On the 25th day of November, in the same year, the British forces evacuated the City of New York.

It will be remembered that Dr. Inglis resigned the Rectorship of Trinity Church on the first day of that month, and that the Corporation, deeming it important that no time should be lost in appointing his successor, met the same day, and elected the Rev. Benjamin Moore to fill the vacancy. In the minutes their action is stated as follows:

"The Corporation do therefore accept of the resignation of the said Doctor Charles Inglis, and the Rectory thereby becoming vacant, this Corporation came into a resolution for the choice of a successor, when it was unanimously resolved that the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Moore be and is hereby elected and chosen to succeed the said Reverend Dr. Inglis as Rector of Trinity Church in the Parish aforesaid. Resolved that Mr. ———[1] wait on Mr. Moore, and acquaint him with the above resolution, and know if he will accept the appointment; which they accordingly did, and Mr. Moore being introduced, and declaring his assent to accept the said appointment, it was therefore further resolved that Mr. Moore be presented in a convenient time to his Excellency Governor George Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, for his approbation; and presentation being prepared for that purpose, the same

[1] A blank in the original.

was read in the words following." (Here follows the formal presentation, liber i., fol. 436, 437.)

The election of Mr. Moore was promptly challenged. The struggle through which the colonists had passed, and out of which they had emerged, no longer colonists, but citizens of an independent nation, had affected things ecclesiastical as well as things political. Broadly speaking, there were now, at the conclusion of the war, two great parties in the church: the "Whig Episcopalians," as they called themselves, representing the triumphant side, and the Conservatives, who, doubtful of the permanence of the new order of things, desired, in matters Ecclesiastical, to maintain as much as possible the old traditions and customs of the Church of England.

The "Whig Episcopalians" viewed with suspicion those church people who had stood by the Royal Government. They had been loud in their denunciations of Dr. Inglis and his friends; and when they heard that Mr. Benjamin Moore had been elected, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the choice; alleging nothing against Mr. Moore's character or fitness for the position, but basing their objection to him on his avowed sympathies with the British cause and his dislike of the new government.

Accordingly, on Saturday, December 6th, they issued the following notice:

"The Whig members of the Episcopal Church are requested to meet this evening at seven o'clock at Simmons' Tavern, near the City Hall, on matters of Importance relative to the Church which require immediate attention." [1]

The principal persons present at that meeting were Messrs. R. R. Livingston, James Duane, Marinus Willett, Robert Troup, and John Lawrence. A resolution was passed unanimously, declaring

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany.

"that the late nomination to the Rectorship was improper and unwarrantable,"[1]

and a committee was appointed to confer with the Corporation, whom they cautiously designated as "the Gentlemen exercising the office of Church Wardens and Vestrymen."

This was the first declaration of war in that contest for the Rectorship which ended in the triumph of the Whigs and the election of Samuel Provoost as fifth Rector.

The Whig Episcopalians, in maintaining their position and endeavoring to secure the rights of which they considered themselves to have been unjustly deprived, appear to have relied, first, on the results of a conference with the Church Wardens and Vestrymen; and, secondly, on a petition to a local body known as the Council for the Temporary Government of the Southern Parts of the State of New York. We shall consider these lines of attack in order. Among the State papers preserved at the Capitol at Albany is a series of documents giving the whole inner history of this struggle for the Rectorship, and from these our account of it is made up.

The committee appointed at the meeting at Simmons's Tavern to confer with the Church Corporation consisted of Messrs. R. R. Livingston, James Duane, Marinus Willett, Robert Troup, and John Lawrence. Of these gentletlemen the reader may be glad to have a brief account. They were all famous for the stand they had taken in the war, and of commanding influence in the State and City.

Robert R. Livingston was born in New York, November 27, 1746, admitted to the bar in 1773, and for a short while was associated in partnership with John Jay. He was appointed Recorder by Governor Tryon in 1773, but owing to his strong sympathies with the Revolutionary

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany.

Cause was deprived of that office in 1775. The same year he was elected to the Provincial Assembly as a delegate from Dutchess County, and sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was appointed one of the Committee of Five to draft the Declaration of Independence, and was also one of the committee who drew up the Constitution for the State of New York. In 1777 he was made Chancellor. As Chancellor he administered the oath to Washington on his inauguration as first President.

James Duane, born in 1733, was by nature a strong Conservative. Up to the time of the Declaration of Independence he favored every measure that would tend to prevent the final separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country, though anxious that their just claims should be granted by England. When the separation came, he was loyal to the new order of things, and served as a member of the Continental Congress during its whole period. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress in April, 1775, and from June, 1776, to April, 1777. In 1776–7 he was a member of the Committee of Safety. Under the new Charter, he was chosen, in 1784, the first mayor of New York.

Marinus Willett, born in 1740, was, unlike Duane, an ardent patriot, and strong in his espousal of the Revolutionary movement. A soldier by instinct and profession, he served in General James Abercrombie's expedition against Fort Ticonderoga, in 1758; was one of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and on June 6, 1775, directed the brilliant movement which prevented the sending of arms from the arsenal in New York to the British troops at Boston. After participating with distinction in several engagements, he joined Washington's army in New Jersey, in June, 1778. From 1780 till the close of the war

he commanded the forces in the Mohawk Valley. From 1784 to 1792 he served as Sheriff of New York.

Robert Troup, born in 1757, studied law under John Jay. Early in 1776 he became a lieutenant in the Revolutionary army on Long Island. At the battle of Long Island he was taken prisoner, and confined in the prison ship *Jersey*. In 1777 he was liberated, an exchange having been effected, when he immediately joined Washington's forces in New Jersey. He became Secretary of the Board of War, and after the peace was appointed Judge of the United States District Court of New York and member of the Assembly.

John Lawrence was born in England, in 1750; came to New York in 1767, and was admitted to the bar in 1772. In 1775 he was given a commission in the 1st New York regiment. In 1777 he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Washington, and presided as judge advocate at the trial of Major André. At the close of the war he resumed the practice of law, was elected a delegate to Congress, and first representative from New York City in 1789 to the first U. S. Congress. He was strongly in sympathy with the Revolutionary Cause, and a personal friend of Washington and Hamilton.

These were the men appointed to communicate with the Corporation of Trinity Church. Their first step was to address the following letter to

"*The Gentlemen exercising the office of Church Wardens and Vestrymen.*"

"GENTLEMEN

"A respectable number of the Congregation of the Episcopal Church, apprehending that your late proceedings, as Church Wardens and Vestrymen, may be attended with the most serious consequences to the Church, met, on Saturday Evening last, to consider the Means of preventing the Evils they dread. At which meeting they unanimously voted that the late nomination to the Rectorship was improper

and unwarrantable and appointed us a Committee to confer with you on the Subject, and to Endeavour to prevent any divisions in a Church which they highly respect and Earnestly wish to support.

" For these purposes we are desirous to meet and confer with you at Capes Tavern at six o'clock on Tuesday Evening next.

" We are Gentlemen your very humble servants

(Signed) R. R. LIVINGSTON
JAS. DUANE
MARINUS WILLET
ROBERT TROUP
JOHN LAWRENCE "

" The Vestry and Church Wardens, objecting only to the proposed *Place* of meeting (it being a Tavern), returned the following Answer :

" GENTLEMEN,

" The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Corporation of Trinity Church have received a letter Signed by you, and being anxious to prevent all divisions in a Society for which you profess so high a regard, are willing to meet you, for the purpose of conferring on any Subject which may conduce to the Harmony of the said Church, at the *Vestry Room*, No. 87 Broadway, on Tuesday Evening at six o'clock.

" We are Gentlemen

" Your very humble Servts

(Signed) JAMES DESBROSSES, ROBERT WATTS } Church Wardens."

directed to

" R. R. Livingston, James Duane, Marinus Willet, Robert Troup and John Lawrence Esquires."

" On Tuesday Evening the Church Wardens and Vestrymen assembled at the Vestry Room where they received the following Letter:

" CAPES TAVERN 9th Dec. 1783.

" GENTLEMEN,

" We are now assembled at this place, where we are ready to confer with you on the Subject mentioned in our Letter of yesterday. As you have not thought it proper to assign any reason for declining to meet us at this place, we see none for changing it to that you propose ; nor do we feel disposed to take a step which may be considered as an implied acknowledgment that you are legally the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, a question on which we think it improper at present to decide, whatever our Sentiments may be. As

we supposed you, in your private Characters animated with the Same desire to assure the Prosperity of the Church and establish it upon a broad and liberal foundation that influences our Conduct, we Expected that you would have rejoiced at an opportunity to unite with us in healing any divisions which may have originated through your precipitation; as well as in examining how far the Charter may in itself be questionable by militating against the Spirit or Letter of the Constitution, and whether the Circumstances under which it has been attempted to be preserved, by those who submitted to or concurred in the British Usurpation, may not call for the Interposition of the Legislature. Should you decline this opportunity of conferring on these Subjects, we shall proceed to take such Steps, for the prosperity of the Church, and the security of our own Rights therein, as those we have the honor to represent may deem expedient, without giving you any further trouble.

"We are Gentlemen,

"Your very Humble Servts.,

(Signed) R. R. Livingston
Jas. Duane
Marinus Willet
Robert Troup
John Lawrence"

directed to

"The Gentlemen exercising the Office of Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Episcopal Church in the City of New York."[1]

It seems that the Church Wardens and Vestry finally decided to meet the above-mentioned gentlemen at the place which they had fixed upon. At this conference it was proposed that, in order to accommodate matters, the Vestry should advise Mr. Moore to resign his appointment to the Rectory, and then proceed to call some other Minister who might be agreeable to what were called the Whig Members, who in turn would prevail on the Legislature to confirm the Acts of the Vestry.

These propositions having been laid before the Vestry, after deliberation the following message was sent to Mr. Duane:

[1] Petition of Vestrymen. Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany.

"The Church Wardens and Vestry Men having taken into consideration the Propositions made to them last Evening, are of opinion that they are of *too important a Nature* to decide upon in the short time proposed and wish to defer their answer until Tuesday next." [1]

To which this answer was received:

"Mr. Duane's compliments to Mr. Bache and acquaints him that he repeats to the Committee assembled at this place the message with which Mr. Bache was charged by the Gentlemen exercising the office of Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church. It is their opinion that as there will be a general meeting of those, whom they have the honor to represent to-morrow Evening, and no reason having been assigned for this request, they are not authorized to consent to the proposed delay, and that an answer will be expected to the propositions of the Committee to the Consideration of the General Meeting as advertised previous to Mr. Bache's communication.

"CAPES TAVERN, Tuesday [2] Evening, Decr. 11th."

"The Vestry being thus pushed for an Answer came to the following resolutions which were sent the next morning, as the Committee would not allow that *any Reason* had been assigned for their wishing to delay their answer, tho' they suppose they had given a very *Sufficient Reason* when they said

"The propositions were of too *important a Nature* to be decided upon in the *Short time* afforded them."

"The Church Wardens and Vestry Men of Trinity Church having maturely considered the Conversation which passed on Tuesday Evening, the 9th instant, between them and a Committee of respectable Gentlemen appointed to confer with them on a *Matter* relating to the Church, and having weighed with the utmost candour and attention the propositions which were then made to them (with all due deference to the opinion of others, and at the same time with that honest steadfastness of perseverance which becomes men acting in a public and important Station) beg leave to declare,

"That they are desirous Every man Should have a free voice in the Election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen who appears at the *time* and with the *Qualifications* which the Charter requires.

"That they look upon themselves as the only *legal Representatives* of the Members of the Episcopal Church in this City being regularly

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany.

[2] Ought not this to have been Thursday (see p. 7), or the date Dec. 9th?

appointed to the Office which they now Sustain, according to old and Established Usage.

"That in all Ecclesiastical matters which have come before them, and in all their Actions, relating to the Business of the Church, whether in a private or Corporate capacity, they have most faithfully endeavoured to promote its Interest and preserve its Constitution.

"That under their Management, in the course of six or seven years it has been retrieved from Many and great Difficulties and raised to a very flourishing condition.

"That in the late Transactions, which (with unfeigned sorrow and regret) they find have given dissatisfaction to many, they assumed no new Power, their only aim was the Public good, they literally adhered to their Charter, which they knew was confirmed by the Constitution of the State, and that great numbers of the Congregation concur with and are ready to support them by all fair and legal means, and therefore,

"That they cannot advise any change in the Measures which they have advised, without contradicting their own opinion, without sacrificing the Rights with which they deem themselves to be duely invested, and without forfeiting their claim to an uniform and consistent Character, which they wish Ever to preserve."[1]

No further communication was held with the Church Wardens and Vestry on the foregoing subject by the Committee.

The Committee, having thus failed in their attempt to make an impression upon the Church Wardens and Vestrymen, decided to address that "Council," already referred to, created by the Acts of October 23, 1779.[2]

"An act to provide for the temporary government of the Southern parts of this State, whenever the enemy shall abandon or be dispossessed of the same, and until the legislature can be convened."

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany.

[2] The historians of the State or City of New York have all passed over the proceedings of this Council, some even ignoring its existence. In their excuse it may be said that the official accounts of the proceedings of the Council seem to have disappeared completely. Governor Clinton, in his message of the 21st of January, 1784, states: "I shall now leave with you my correspondence with Sir Guy Carleton: The Proceedings of the Council constituted for the temporary government of the Southern District," etc. These Proceedings cannot be found either in New York or Albany.

A proviso as to time was inserted as follows:

"That the powers and authorities of the said Council, with all and every their ordinances, shall cease determine and become void on the sixtieth day after the first day on which they shall meet."[1]

On March 27, 1783, a Supplementary Act was passed, extending the time limit until the British troops shall actually leave the State.[2]

The petition to the Council runs as follows:–

"To the Honorable the Council appointed by the Act of the Legislature for the temporary government of the Southern District of this State etc.[3]—

The Petition of the Subscribers humbly sheweth:—

"That your Petitioners are by Education and Principle attached to the Mode of religious Worship used in the Episcopal Church commonly known and distinguished by the Name of the Church of England. That they formed a Part of that Church in this City, and were as such entitled to a Participation in the Rights and Property held for the benefit of the Said Congregation by the Corporation of Trinity Church. That your Petitioners attached to the cause of Freedom and conceiving that Personal Interests could not in any case be placed in Competition with their duty as Citizens, for the most part left their native Homes, and relinquished their Property and their occupations, and went into voluntary Exile, that they might as good Citizens, according to their respective Abilities, promote the Interest of their Country.

"That your Petitioners think it unnecessary to recapitulate the hardships they suffered during their Exile, the Distresses to which many of their Families have been reduced; the Hazards to which they have been Exposed; their loss of Property; and the more affecting Loss of brave and worthy Relations and Connections that have fallen in the

[1] See Chap. 289 of Third Session, 1779, Laws of the State of New York, vol. i., 192.

[2] Chap. 54 of Sixth Session of 1784, p. 583.

[3] Document 2403, *State Records*, Albany, "Whales and Taxes." The endorsement on this document reads, "The petition of James Duane, R. R. Livingston, and Francis Lewis, Esqs., and others to the

1783

Council for the temporary government of the State."

Field, or died in the Prisons of their Vindictive Enemy. They numbered Private losses among the Hazards they were to run; and they submit to those they have sustained. But while your Petitioners acquiesce in these, they cannot consent that Rights to which they are entitled as Members of a Religious Community, should be wrested from them, while they were endeavoring to establish the Civil and Religious Privileges of every Citizen of the State; more especially that they should be surrendered to Persons who have preferred their own Interest to that of their Country; and by their Submission to, in some sort encouraged the Attempt of Britain to Establish her Oppression.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly looking up to this Council for Relief, beg Leave to Shew to your Honors, that a Number of Persons were elected under the Influence of the British Government to places in the Corporation, while your Petitioners and others entitled to vote at such elections were, by an armed Force Prevented from Exercising such Right and others of your Petitioners who were unavoidably detained within the British Lines, and whose Attachment to the Independence of this State was avowed, were deterred by Threats and other Means from the free Enjoyment of their Religious Privileges.

"That the Persons so elected calling themselves the Church-wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church have not only possessed themselves of the Estate of the Church, but in open Defiance of the Authority of this State, and in direct contempt of its Laws placed at the Head of the said Corporation, as Rector of the said Church, a Man since attainted for Treasons before that appointment committed, and caused him to be inducted into the said Church by Mr. Tryon, the pretended Governor of the State, even after His Excellency, the present Governor, was in the full exercise of his Office.

"That in Pursuance of the same System, and with Design to keep your Petitioners and Others, well attached to the Independence of the State, from a share in the Government of the said Church, the said persons calling themselves the Church-wardens, and Vestrymen, after the said Rector had left the State to avoid the Penalties of the Law, did, a few Days before the Evacuation of this City, unnecessarily and merely to prevent your Petitioners from being consulted in the Choice, proceed to choose the Reverend Benjamin Moore, Rector of the said Church, tho' it was well known that the choice would be disagreeable to your Petitioners; the said Benjamin Moore having upon every occasion evinced a most decided attachment to the British Government,

and an utter aversion to that of the State, as far as his Situation would admit. So that your Petitioners, without the Aid of your Honors, find themselves reduced to the disagreeable Necessity, either of abandoning the mode of worship in which they have been Educated, and of yielding up their rights in the Corporation, or of joining in Prayer with one whose Political Principles they detest, and whose Prayers for the Success of the British Army all good Citizens must, with Hearts overflowing with Gratitude, on every Solemn Occasion, thank the Supreme Governor of the Universe for having rejected.

"Your Petitioners omit at this time any observations upon the Inconsistency of some Parts of the Charter of Trinity Church with the Constitution of this State, as they humbly hope to obtain from the Legislature a Renewal thereof, with such alterations as may consist therewith.

"For the same Reason, your Petitioners do not think it proper to observe upon any non-user or mis-user thereof, by any Persons who have assumed to act as Members of the said Corporation, other than, that the Persons who at Present call themselves Church-wardens and Vestry-men, or the greater Part of them, are disqualified by a Law of this State from holding any Place within this State, or Voting at Elections; and that your Petitioners are now by an armed Force withheld from the free Exercise of their Rights. That sound Policy concurring with the Justice due to your Petitioners directs that a new Election be held by Persons qualified by Law to elect out of Persons Members of the Congregation of the said Church eligible by Law, and that they be vested with all the Powers heretofore granted by Charter to the Corporation of Trinity Church, till the Legislature can declare their Sense thereon, in like manner as it has pleased this honorable Council to direct in the case of the Corporation of this City.

"Your Petitioners beg leave further to assure your Honors, that in presenting their humble Petition, they are influenced by no other Motives than those that affect them merely as Members of the Congregation of the episcopal Church, being well persuaded that without Interposition of your Honors, the flagrant Violation of the Rights of your Petitioners, and the Early attempt at Power, by Persons who ought to deem themselves too happy in the Protection of Government, will greatly endanger the Peace of this City, and excite Tumults which it is the Earnest Wish of your Petitioners as Members of this Committee to prevent.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray, that this honored Council would

be pleased to take their Case into Consideration, and grant them such Relief in the Premises as to your Honors shall seem Meet.

"And your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever Pray etc.

JAS. DUANE
R. R. LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS
THO. TILLOTSON
LEWIS MORRIS
JOHN LAMB
CORNELIUS HAIGHT, *et al.*"[1]

This Petition, presented by the gentlemen styling themselves the Whig members of the Episcopal Church, was signed by less than one hundred persons, of whom about a dozen only were communicants. It went in on New Year's Day.[2] On the day following, the Vestry assembled, apparently with an impression that the aspect of affairs was alarming, and that it was desirable to fall upon some method of settling the dispute, although they do not seem to have known that the Petition had gone to the Council the previous day. The result of their deliberations was a very extraordinary proposal, involving the abolition of the office of Rector, and the settlement of at least two clergymen over the Parish, on the same footing and with equal powers and prerogatives; the scheme is thus described:

"That Every Vacancy in the Vestry be supplied with such persons as shall be agreeable to those who denominate themselves the Whig Members of the Episcopal Church.

[1] For the rest of the names appended to this Petition see Appendix I.

[2] The following notice appeared in *Rivington's Gazette* for December 10, 1783:

"Meeting of Whig Members called."

"*Notice* is hereby Given, in Pursuance of a Resolution of the Whig Members of the *Episcopal Church*, who met last Saturday Evening at Simmons' Tavern, That the said meeting is adjourned to the Long Room in the Coffee House, on Friday Evening next, at nine o'clock, at which Time and Place all Persons professing themselves Episcopalians, are requested to attend.

"JAMES DUANE, *Chairman*."

There is no allusion to this meeting in the above correspondence.

"That this be considered at present as a conciliating expedient till the next General Election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen, when Every Member of the Church in Communion will have a free Vote.

"That if a Coalition can be brought about, the Vestry will immediately proceed to call such a clergyman as shall be pointed out by the Whig Members, as the Person most agreeable to them.

"That the clergyman so elected shall be placed precisely upon the same footing with Mr. Moore — the sallary from the Church being allowed to both, and as to the perquisites arising from the parochial Duties, the Clergyman who performs the Duty to receive the Emolument.

"The office of Rector being thus abolished, and all precedence and superiority done away, the Clergy of the Church for the time being, to be considered as Members of the Corporation, and that, at least one of them be always present, in order to constitute a Board.

"That if these Propositions are acceded to, then the whole Interest of the Episcopal Church to be united to prevail upon the Legislature to remove any doubts that may arise from the Ceremony of inducting the Rector heretofore practiced, by declaring the advowson *donative*, instead of *presentative* in the Church Wardens and Vestrymen.

"Also to declare, that instead of a Rector with Peculiar Privileges the officiating clergy be upon a footing of Equality, and to make any alteration in the Stile which the change of Government may render proper."[1]

These startling and subversive propositions were at once rejected by the Whig Episcopalians who, to their great credit, took this action upon them:

"At a meeting of the associated Episcopalians at the Long Room in the Coffee House on Monday Evening 5th Jany 1784 Resolved— That the Propositions from the Persons Stiling themselves the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church for the purpose of accommodating the differences among the Members of the Episcopalian Church, are wholly inadmissible.

(Signed) "JAS. DUANE, Ch.

"Ordered that the above resolutions be delivered to Mr. Bache."[2]

On reading this part of our story, one fairly draws his breath with profound gratitude that such a danger was

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany. [2] *Ibid.*

happily escaped. Indeed, it is hard to believe that a proceeding, revolutionary in its nature, and involving the complete overthrow of the Parish, could ever have been seriously entertained by its custodians. It is, I think, the only instance in two hundred years in which the judgment and good sense of the Corporation were in fault; there may have been something behind the scenes which, if known, would form a partial excuse for their error.

While these negotiations were in progress, the Council had acted on the Petition presented to them, by the adoption of an Ordinance, dated January 12, 1784, and relating to the position of the Parish. A copy of this Ordinance has not yet been found, but its effect appears to have been to vest the control of the Estate in the hands of nine Trustees, until the further action of the State Legislature, if not to place the said Trustees in full power in the concerns of the Parish. The persons named as Trustees in the said Ordinance were James Duane, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Isaac Sears, William Duer, Daniel Dunscomb, Anthony Lispenard, John Rutherford, and William Bedlow; and, according to its terms, "the possession of all and Every the Estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church was delivered to the gentlemen appointed for that purpose." Acting under this authority, the Trustees, having received the keys of two Chests of Plate belonging to the Church, returned them to the Rev. Mr. Moore, informing him at the same time that it was their wish and desire that he should continue to officiate in the Church as usual.

A sudden change was, however, soon to come; and a great surprise for Mr. Moore, involving the complete triumph of those opposed to his induction.

As if commissioned to effect a solution of the difficulties in which the Corporation were involved, the Rev. Mr.

Provoost arrived in town on the second day of February. His appearance seems to have been welcomed as that of an opportunist harbinger of peace; even though the mild and gentle Mr. Moore should go down before the victorious adversary. Prompt to act, on the evening of the 5th, the Vestry favored him with this polite though rather abrupt communication:

NEW YORK, 5th Feby 1784.

"REVEREND SIR,

"The Reverend Mr. Provoost has been pleased in compliance with our Invitation, to take the charge of the Episcopal Churches in this City, and we have delivered him the Keys.

"We by no means wish to abridge your usefulness in a Congregation where you have many friends. The object of this Letter is only to apprize you that Mr. Provoost in future will have the direction in the same manner as it was exercised by former Rectors.

"We are Reverend Sir

"Your most humble Servts.

(Signed) JAS. DUANE
WM. DUER
LEWIS MORRIS
DANL. DUNSCOMB
WM. BEDLOW
JOHN RUTHERFORD

"REV. MR. BENJ. MOORE."

The reply of the Rev. Mr. Moore, calm and dignified, did him great credit.

"NEW YORK 7 Feby 1784.

"GENTLEMEN

"I have received a Letter from you, in which you inform me 'that the Rev'd Mr. Provost, in compliance with your Invitation, has taken the Charge of the Episcopal Churches in this City, and that you have delivered him the Keys.' Upon looking at the ordinance of Council of 12th Jany last, I find that nine gentlemen (whose names are there mentioned) or any five of them, are authorized to take possession of all and Every the Estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church in the City of New York, to be by them retained and kept until such Time as *further legal Provision* shall be made in the Premises.

"As your Authority is confined to this Business *Solely*, I am at a

loss to know whence you derived the Power to introduce a Clergyman into this Parish, and to invest him with a right 'to have the direction in the *Same Manner* as it was exercised by *former Rectors*.'

"It is indeed true, and I speak of it with gratitude and pleasure, that I have, in the Congregation, many friends. For near Ten Years past I have discharged my duty among them faithfully, I hope advantageously; and could I be treated with the same degree of Respect and Confidence that these men are, should be most happy to continue my services.

"Not being permitted to go into the Church but under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Provost, and not being inclined to do anything that may be construed into an implied acknowledgment that my Claim to the Rectorship is annulled, I shall beg leave, for the present, to decline officiating in the Churches until Some further *legal* Provision is made.

"I am gentlemen

"Your most humble servt.

(Signed) BENJ. MOORE."

"James Duane, Wm. Duer, Lewis Morris, Danl. Dunscomb, Wm. Bedlow and John Rutherford, Esquires."

"Since the above Letter the Rev. Mr. Provost has exercised the Powers vested in him by the Committee, and the Rev. Mr. Moore has declined officiating.

"It ought to have been mentioned before, that when the debate before the Council was finished and before their decision was published, Coll Hamilton, who had supported the cause of the Vestry at their desire waited upon the Chancellor with the proposal 'That if the Gentlemen in opposition would consent to accommodate the Matter, one Church Warden and Ten Vestrymen would immediately resign their Places and proceed to elect others who might be unexceptionable.'"[1]

Thus ended a very embarrassing and perilous complication. The Rev. Mr. Provoost accepted the call to the

[1] Document 2404, *State Papers*, Albany. It bears the following endorsement:

"A Petition of John Charlton, Thos. Moore, and others, who Stile themselves Vestrymen, with a State of Facts relative to the Episcopal Congregation in the City of New York

"In Assembly 21st Feby 1784 Read and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to be taken into Consideration with the Bill for making alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church.

"In Senate 24 Feby 1784 Committed with the Bill for the Corporation of Trinity Church."

Rectorship, and Mr. Moore withdrew, to return, however, as we shall see, after the lapse of fourteen years. It was a fortunate thing for the Parish, at that moment, that its head should be a man, not only of high repute for learning, culture, and knowledge of affairs, but also identified from the beginning with the cause of the American Revolution, and enjoying the full confidence of the State Government and the patriotic citizens of New York.

CHAPTER II.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PARISH.

A Great Danger Averted—Results of the Proposal to Abolish the Rectorship—Ordinance of January 12, 1784—Act of February 17, 1784—Petition for Confirmation of Wardens and Vestrymen—Names of Petitioners—Election and Induction of Mr. Samuel Provoost—Strong Opposition to Legislative Action—Attempt at Secession—Petition for the Separate Use of One of the Chapels of the Parish—Failure of the Movement.

WITH the termination of the contest between the "Whig Episcopalians" and the Corporation of the Parish, and the election of Dr. Provoost as Rector, the first danger-line was safely passed. It was next in order to take measures against the possible recurrence of conditions tending to reconstruction of the system, if not to a demolition of it from base to top. For what course can be conceived which would have made greater confusion or wrought more serious detriment than that of abolishing the office of Rector, and committing the Church to the government of clergy of equal rank, associated as a board of ecclesiastical administration? The Vestry would have become a body of Elders; the Clergy their official servants. Men of conflicting views would have striven together, and taken appeal to the Vestry when unable to settle their quarrels. The Vestry, carefully chosen to represent the political views of the day, one Warden and ten Vestrymen being selected from the Whigs, and an equal number from the opposite party, would have lived in a state of continual ferment, factions of parishioners and clergymen being left without a head to rule and direct with power. No scheme

could have been more cunningly devised to secure the rapid disintegration of the Parish, misuse of its property, and the loss of its moral and religious hold on the community. It was by a strange irony of circumstances that the Conservatives stood at that crisis as Radicals, while the Whigs were the Conservatives; to them we do honor, for their immediate rejection of the revolutionary proposals submitted to them, and their censure of them as "wholly inadmissible."

We come now to the well known and memorable "Act of 1784," by which such modifications were made in the Charter of the Church as were necessary, not only to give it full recognition by the State Authority, but also to secure it from the possibility of radical reconstruction under influences from within the pale of church membership, which, at that time, took in all the "inhabitants of the City of New York in communion with the Church of England."

The "Council for the Temporary Government of the Southern part of the State" had already, as we have seen, passed an ordinance, January 12, 1784, vesting all the estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church in the hands of nine trustees,— James Duane, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Isaac Sears, William Duer, Daniel Dunscomb, Anthony Lispenard, John Rutherford, and William Bedlow.

This ordinance was revived and kept in force by a special Act of the Legislature, dated February 17, 1784, which states that

"sufficient legislative provision hath not nor can immediately be made for the government of the said Southern parts of this State other than by enacting that the several ordinances hereinafter mentioned be revived and continued in the manner hereinafter mentioned."

Included in these "several ordinances" is the one relating to

"the estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church which was thus revived and continued in full force and virtue until the rising of the Legislature at this their present meeting." [1]

A bill was next introduced into the Legislature relating to the Charter of Trinity Church, and thereupon a petition was drawn up in this city, intended to aid in the effort to obtain the sanction of the State Authority to the acts of the Corporation, and to obtain such additional relief as might be necessary for the security of the Parish. The petition took the form of a request for the confirmation of a recent Vestry election; it was presented to the Assembly February 21, 1784, and to the Senate three days later, and it ran as follows:

"PETITION FOR CONFIRMATION OF CERTAIN WARDENS AND VESTRYMEN.

"To the honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New York in Legislature convened:

The Petition of the Subscribers Members of the Episcopal Church in the City of New York [2]

Humbly sheweth

"That your Petitioners have elected to be Churchwardens

James Duane	and	Francis Lewis
Robert R. Livingston		Lewis Morris
.....		Isaac Sears
Anthony Griffiths		Daniel Dunscomb
Hercules Mulligan		William Bedlow
Marinus Willet		William Duer
John Stevens		John Rutherford
Robert Troup		Anthony Lispenard
Thomas Tucker		Thomas Grenell
Joshua Sands		Thomas Tillotson
Richard Morris		Christopher Miller

to be Vestrymen of the said Church.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that the Legislature will be pleased to insert the names of the persons above mentioned as the

[1] Cap. 3 of Seventh Session, 1784, vol. i., p. 589.

[2] Document 2405, *State Records*, Albany, 1780–1803 Taxes — Whaling.

Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the said Church in the Bill now depending before your honorable Houses respecting the Charter of the said Church.

" And your Petitioners shall ever pray etc.

LEONARD LISPENARD, Jun.
GROVE BEND, et al." [1]

As these documents have never been printed before, the full list of names appended to these petitions will be found in the Appendix.[2] It is interesting to notice that the signers represented both sides, and included some of the most honored of our laity. We find the names of Cornelius Haight, T. Kemper and Daniel Kemper, Leonard Lispenard, William C. Bradford, Anthony L. Bleecker, John De La Mater, John Rutherford, R. R. Livingston, James Duane, —— Claggett, Simon Schermerhorn, James Bleecker, Gerard J. Beekman, Arnout Cannon, William Leaycraft, representing the Whig interest, and on the opposing side the names of William Southgate, Isaac Gouverneur, Rem Rapelje, Peter Van Allen, Jonathan and Samuel Armour, William W. Ludlow, James Desbrosses, Peter and John Goelet, P. Stuyvesant, Andrew Hammersley, Theophylact Bache, Fred Jay, Albin Cox, J. Pierrepont, William Rhinelander, John Onderdonk, John De Lancey, Martin Crozier, David M. Clarkson, David Ogden, Martin Hoffman, Jun., John W. Vredenburgh, Garrit Van Horne, William Kirby, Samuel Bayard,

[1] Endorsement on Document 2405 :

" A Petition of Leonard Lispenard, Junior, Grove Bend, and others. Shewing that they have chosen the persons therein named to be Church Wardens and Vestrymen and praying that their names may be inserted in the Bill for making alterations in the Charter of Trinity Church.

" In Assembly 21st Feby., 1784. Read and Committed to a Committee of the Whole House with the Bill last mentioned. In Senate 24th Feb., 1784. Committed with the Bill for the Corporation of Trinity Church."

[2] See Appendices I., II., and III.

Joseph Kingsland, Thomas F. Kipp, Richard Channing Moore, and others. All these are honored names, and still borne in this generation by families loyal in their devotion to the Church.

On the 17th of April, 1784, the Legislature passed the well-known "Act of 1784," entitled "An Act for making such Alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church, as to render it more conformable to the Constitution of the State." This Act is found given in full in the Appendix to Part I. of this history.[1]

The first entry following that of November 1, 1783, which recorded the acceptance of the resignation of Dr. Inglis and the election of Mr. Benjamin Moore as his successor, is that dated April 17, 1784, and reads:

"By an act of the Legislature of the People of the State of New York passed the Seventeenth Day of April one thousand seven hundred and eighty four, entitled 'An act for making such alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church as to render it more conformable to the Constitution of the State.' The following gentlemen were appointed Church-wardens and vestry men of the said Church:

Robt. R. Livingston, James Duane } Church Wardens.

Richard Morris	Anthony Lispenard	Christopher Miller
Francis Lewis	Thomas Tillotson	Thomas Tucker
Lewis Morris	John Stevens	Hercules Mulligan
Isaac Sears	Marinus Willet	Thomas Grennell
William Duer	Robert Troup	William Mercier
William Bedlow	Joshua Sands	John Rutherford
Daniel Dunscomb	Anthony Griffith	

Vestry Men."

The new Vestry then proceeded to legalize the position of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Provoost. It has been seen that Mr. Benjamin Moore had refrained from performing

[1] P. 476.

any official act after his letter of the 7th of February, and that Mr. Provoost had officiated since that time. Accordingly a meeting of the Vestry was held on April 21st. It is noteworthy to remark, that the minutes are not headed as formerly, "At a meeting of the Vestry of Trinity Church in the City of New York." No allusion or notice is taken of Mr. Moore — Mr. James Duane is the only Warden present.

The minutes read as follows :

"The Trustees entrusted with the care of the Temporalities of Trinity Church by the Council appointed by the act of the Legislature of the temporary Government of the Southern Parts of the State, when ever the enemy shall abandon or be dispossessed of the same, Informed the Board that agreeable to the Desire of the Whig Episcopalians they had requested the attendance of the Rev. Samuel Provoost in Town in order to perform Divine Service at Saint George's and Saint Paul's Chappells. That Mr. Provoost had accordingly arrived in town on the second day of February last and that he had very obligingly officiated from the day of his arrival to the present time.

"Resolved unanimously

"That agreeable to the powers vested in the Churchwardens and Vestry Men of Trinity Church by the act of the Legislature, for making such Alterations in the charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church as to render it more conformable to the constitution of this State, the Reverend Samuel Provoost be Called and inducted to the rectory of Trinity Church, in the City of New York."

On the following day, April 22d, it was

"Resolved that Mr. Duane, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Morris be a committee to wait on Mr. Provoost and to inform him of such his call and appointment and to request his acceptance thereof."

Mr. Provoost, having been informed that the Church Wardens and Vestrymen had unanimously resolved to call and induct him to the Rectory of Trinity Church, and

having expressed his compliance with their request, was introduced to the Board; and a call and induction being prepared for the purpose, it was signed by the members of the Corporation and presented to Mr. Provoost in the words following:

"*To all people* to whom these presents shall come or concern,

"*We the Church Wardens* and Vestry Men of the Corporation of the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York, in Communion of the Church of England, as by law established, do send greeting:

"Whereas the Office of Rector of the Corporation of the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Church of England became vacant,—And the Reverend Mr. Samuel Provoost hath some time since on the invitation of the Trustees appointed for the Care of the Temporalities of the Said Church by the late Council for the temporary Government of the Southern District of this State, and other members of the said Church associated with them, taken the charge and Care of the Episcopal Church in the said City, belonging to the Said Corporation, on an assurance that he should be with due solemnity invested with the said office of Rector thereof, as soon as it could be done according to law. And Whereas, by virtue of an act entitled:

"'An act for making such alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church, as to render it more conformable to the Constitution of the State,' passed the seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four. We the Churchwardens and Vestry Men therein named and who have subscribed and sealed these presents are duly authorized to call and induct a Rector of the said Corporation and Church. And we having a high sense of the Learning, Piety, and Integrity of the said Reverend Samuel Provoost,

"BE IT THEREFORE KNOWN, that the said Churchwardens and Vestry Men, have called and inducted, and by these presents do call and induct the Said Reverend Samuel Provoost to be Rector of the said Corporation, To hold, exercise and enjoy the said office of Rector, with all the profits and emoluments thereunto belonging, as fully and effectually, as any Rector of the said Corporation may, can or ought to hold the same, by virtue of the said Act and Charter of the said Corporation.

"*In witness* whereof the said Churchwardens and Vestry Men have hereunto set their hands and seals the twenty second day of April in

the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of this State the eighth.

(Signed) JAMES DUANE,
Churchwarden.

Francis Lewis	William Mercier
Thomas Grennell	Daniel Dunscomb
Lewis Morris	Isaac Sears
Christopher Miller	William Duer
Hercules Mulligan	Anthony Griffiths
John Stevens Jr	Thos. Tillotson
Joshua Sands	Robert Troup
John Rutherford	Marinus Willett
Richard Morris	Anthony Lispenard
William Bedlow	

Vestry Men."[1]

Thus the membership of the Corporation was complete, and the old Parish had once more a Rector at its head, acknowledged both by the Ecclesiastical and State Authorities, as its legal Superior. Trinity was now prepared to do its work in the community, without entangling alliances abroad or fear of disturbance at home. It went forth out of the old order of things into the new with the same Divine and Apostolic warrant as before, but holding its temporalities and legal powers from the Republican Government; no longer an English but an American corporation; a unit, not of the English Church, but of the Church in America in communion with the Church of England. To this change of status, however, there had been strong opposition, which continued for a while to express itself in a manner indicative of the depth of the feeling of discontent.

For there were those in the parish, many in number and including persons of importance, who disapproved of everything that had been done, and thought that their rights as Churchmen and citizens had been trampled on

[1] Liber i., page 438.

and set at nought by the proceedings of the Legislature and the Vestry; not only so, but some of them appeared to regret the separation of Episcopalians in this country from the Mother Church of England, and would perhaps have preferred that the Church here should continue as an annex or dependency of the Church across the sea. At all events, their feeling was so strong that they meditated a movement which, if carried out, would have caused a schism, in which two separate churches of our faith would have existed here face to face. The persons now referred to sought the relief to which they deemed themselves entitled, by addressing a petition to the Legislature, which disclosed their plans.

"*To the Honorable the Representatives of the State of New York, in Senate and Assembly*

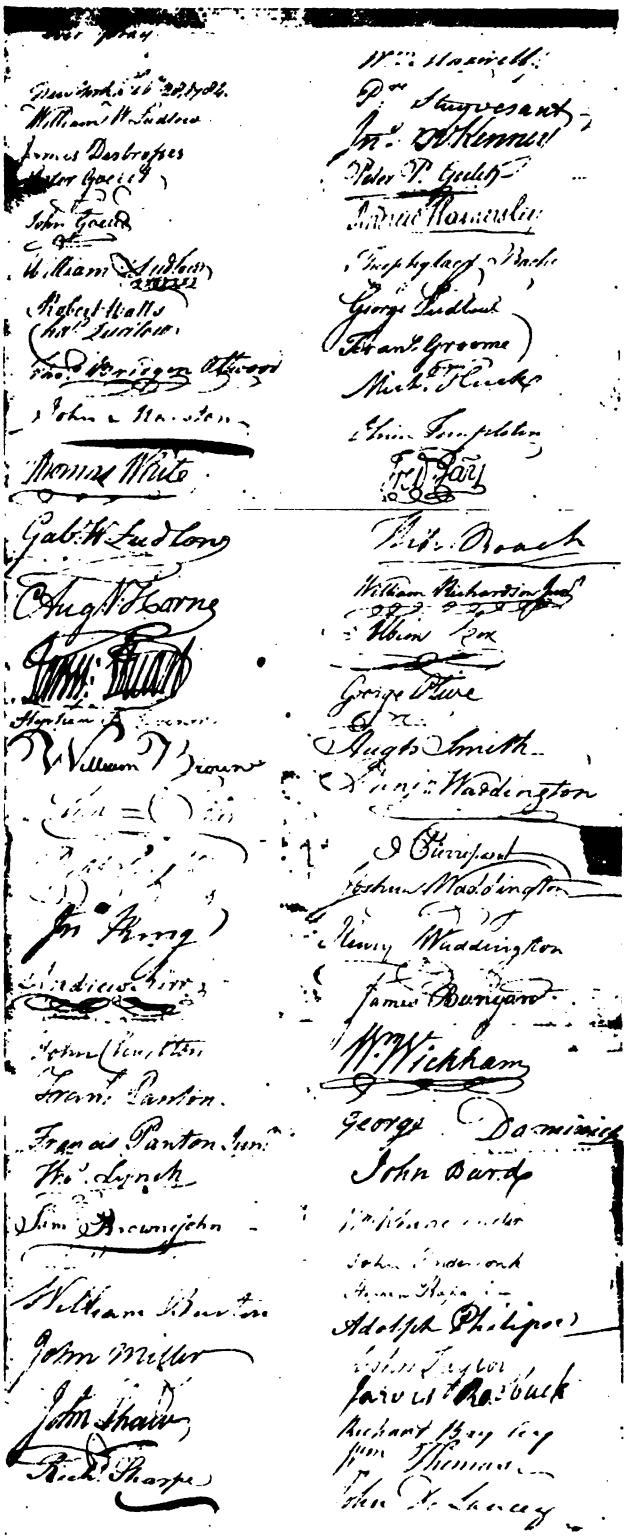
"The Memorial of the Subscribers Humbly Showeth[1]:

"That your Memorialists are Members of the Episcopal Church in this City commonly distinguished by the name of the Church of England; and that as such, with their Fellow-Christians of other Denominations, they only claim the Privilege of Enjoying their own mode of Religious worship, according to the Dictates of Reason and Scripture, and agreeably to the Spirit and Letter of the Constitution of the State, which declares 'That the free Exercise and enjoyment of religious Profession and Worship, without Discrimination or Preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind.'

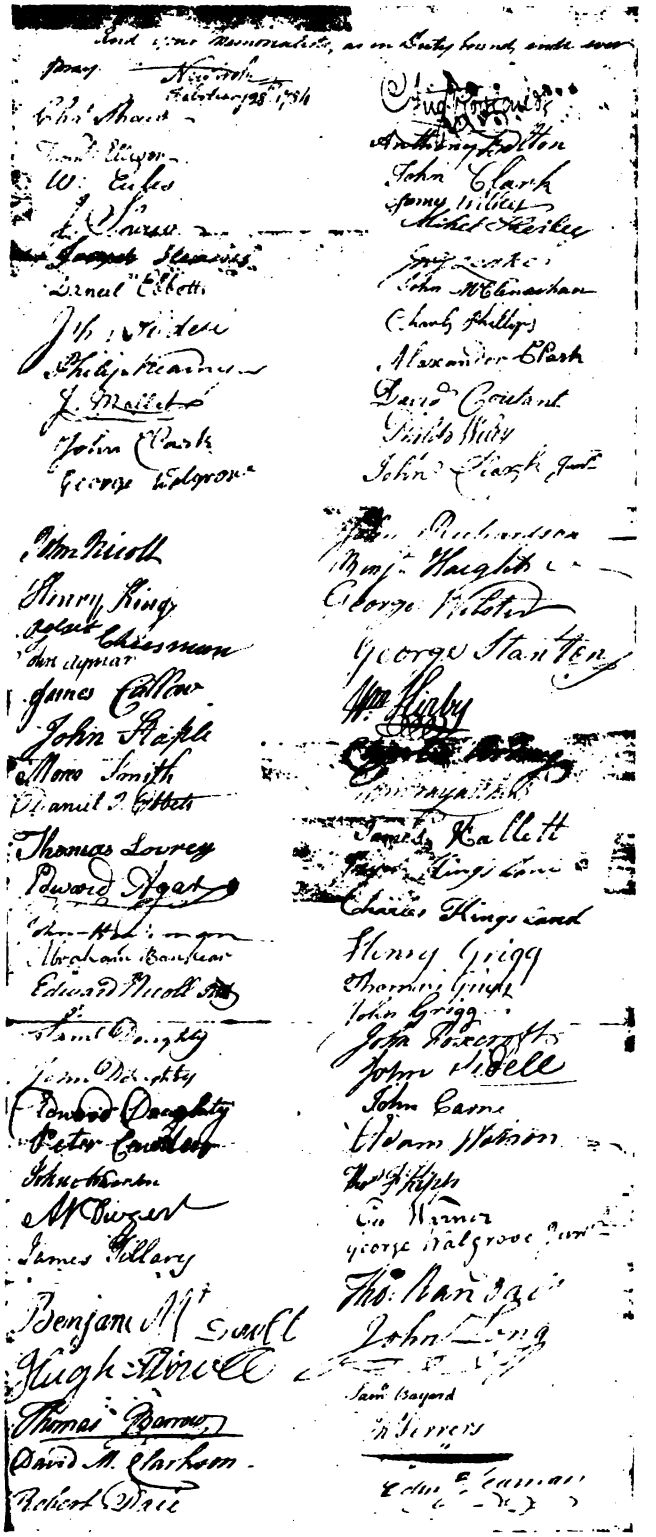
"That it has been the uniform and constant Practice of the Church to which we belong to give to every Member in Communion a free Vote, and to have her officers annually elected by the majority of Voices.

"That a *Minor Part* of the Congregation has lately prevailed so far, as to displace all the former Officers of the Church, who were appointed in Strict Conformity to Established Usage and to the Directions of our Ancient Charter. They have procured a Bill to be passed thro' the Honorable the House of Assembly, in which Church Wardens and Vestrymen are mentioned by name, and at the request of the Congregation at large; Whereas your memorialists humbly beg leave to represent that a *Major Part* of the People are so much dissatisfied and

[1] Document 2406, *State Records*, Albany, "Whales and Taxes."



SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION OF THE OLD VESTRY AND THEIR FRIENDS



FOR THE ENDOWMENT OF A SEPARATE CHURCH.

displeased as to abandon their Places of Public Worship—more especially as they find themselves not only precluded from the Privilege of being consulted *now*, but that those Gentlemen are to continue in office for two years from next Easter.

"That in the course of this Dispute (the whole proceedings of which were laid before the Honorable the House of Assembly on the 21st inst. and to which we again beg leave to refer this Honorable Body) such Propositions have been made, as in our opinion were formed in the principles of Justice and Equity, calculated to restore Peace and Harmony, and to accommodate the Government of the Church to the Genius and Spirit of the Constitution of the State.

"That to these Propositions we are still earnestly desirous to adhere. But if those who have hitherto opposed our wishes for an Equitable Conciliation and disregard our complaints, persist in their Endeavours to carry their Intentions into Execution, your Memorialists will then be driven to the painful necessity of forming a separate Congregation in which every Member in Communion may have a free and uncontrouled Voice.

"In which Case your Memorialists humbly pray, that one of the Churches may be allotted them for the Purposes of Divine Worship, together with a Proportionable Part of the Temporalities of its Church for the support of their Ministers.

"And your Memorialists, as in Duty bound, will ever pray.

"NEW YORK, Feby 28, 1784."[1]

This petition was largely signed, containing three hundred and seventy-six signatures. A glance at the list of names shows that members of the same family were not all arrayed on one side. While Chancellor Livingston was the influential and active agent on the side of the Whigs, John Livingston is found on the side of the old vestry. So it was with others. We find Benjamin Haight, Richard Leaycraft, John Griffiths, William Newton, and three Lewises on the side of the old vestry, while on the opposing side are Cornelius Haight, George and William

[1] Endorsement on Document 2406.
"Memorial and Petition of John Haskins and 24 others. No. 1.
In Senate 5th March, 1784. Read and referred to a Committee of the Whole."
For rest of names appended to this petition see Appendix III.

Leaycraft, Anthony Griffiths, H. Newton, and two Lewises.

As to the fate of the Petition, all that is known is gathered from the endorsement on it. It was "read and referred to a Committee of the Whole." No further notice seems to have been taken of it. And as the persons they appealed to were in the main their actual opponents, the Whig members being in control of the Senate and Assembly, the fate of their Petition was sealed beforehand. To have granted it would have been a signal disaster; a schism would have followed, as in Scotland. There was the Church of England in Scotland, and the Church in Scotland; so, here, there would have been a Church of England in America, perpetuated and kept alive mainly by political partisans, and as a protest against the republican form of government. It was bad enough for the Church to be associated, in the minds of the common people, with the Church of the Tories and aristocrats; but it would have been impossible for her to have gained a foothold in the strong and vigorous current of American life had a branch of her been kept alive as the visible embodiment of the old régime. Such a schism was averted by the firmness and resolution of Chancellor Livingston, James Duane, and others, and by their weight and influence in the councils of the nation. This Petition was the last concerted attempt of the friends of the old order to stem the rising tide. If they did not acquiesce *ex animo*, they protested no more.

CHAPTER III.

SAMUEL PROVOOST.

Birth, Parentage, and Ancestry of Samuel Provoost—Student at King's College—Goes to England—Enters St. Peter's College, Cambridge—Ordination—Friendship with Benjamin Bousfield—His Marriage—Returns to New York—Election as Assistant Minister—Obtains Leave of Absence—Revisits Ireland—Returns to New York—Unpopularity—Resignation—Settles at East Camp—His Straitened Circumstances.

SAMUEL PROVOOST was the oldest child of John Provoost and Eve Rutgers. He was born in the city of New York, February 26, 1742, and baptized in the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church; the register does not give the date of baptism. The previous entry is dated February 28th, and the subsequent one March 7, 1742. Samuel was probably baptized on the 28th.

The other children of John Provoost were John (b. January 24, 1753), whose date of death is not known, but who was living in 1789; Catharine (b. May 8, 1755), who died in 1794; David (b. 1757, died 1794); and James Alexander (b. 1759, married Mary Rosevelt, died September 19, 1795). Samuel's parents died, the father on September 24, 1767, the mother about the year 1788.

The family was of French origin, tracing its descent back to Guillaume Prévost, who lived in the sixteenth century.

That he spelled his name Prévost is established beyond question. That the Prévost became "Provoost" in Holland and New Amsterdam, 1572–1664, and "Provost" after the latter became New York and part of an English

colony, is only the happening of the inevitable. But as Prévost in French, Provoost in Dutch, and Provost in English are identical in meaning, the family had a perfect right to adopt whichever method they preferred.

The Bishop wrote his name Provost until he was nearly forty years of age; then, probably wishing to be identified with the Dutch, rather than the English, of New York, he first began to use the extra "o." (See vol. xviii., *N. Y. Gen. and Bio. Rec.*)

Guillaume Prévost, born in Paris, 1545, married in Holland, 1574.

Johannes Provost, born in Holland, 1576, married in Amsterdam, 1601, Elizabeth ——.

David Provost, born in Amsterdam August 10, 1608; came to New Netherlands in 1624, returned to Holland in 1626, and in 1630 married Margaretta, daughter of Gillis Ten Waert, and returned to New Amsterdam in 1634; died 1657.

David Provost, born November 20, 1642, at Fort Good Hope; baptized in New York, September 30, 1645, by Domine Bogardus. Married in 1668 Catharine Laurens.

Samuel Provost, tenth child of David and Catharine, born Jan. 8, 1687, married October 15, 1711, Maria, daughter of John Spratt.

Samuel Provost became a wealthy merchant, and upon his death, in 1720, his widow continued his business. She was a woman of rare abilities, and by her skill and close attention to business became the most wealthy woman of the colony. January 1, 1721, she married James Alexander, the statesman, scholar, and lawyer, who for so many years was in the Councils of New York and New Jersey and in the Assembly of New York. Their son, William,

known as the "Earl of Sterling," was the celebrated Major-General of the American Army of the Revolution.

John Provost, baptized Jan. 10, 1714; in 1734, married Eve, daughter of Hermanus Rutgers; died September 24, 1767.

The *New-York Mercury* of September 28, 1767, announces the death of John Provost and his half-sister, Mary Livingston, at about the same hour, and adds:

"Both deaths are universally lamented. Their remains were decently interred in the family vault, Trinity Church."

Samuel Provost, born February 26, 1742, married June 6, 1766, Maria, daughter of Thomas Bousfield, Esq., of Lakelands, Cork, Ireland.[1]

The parents of Samuel Provoost belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, and, as we have seen, its register contains the record of his baptism. There is little doubt, however, that his attendance at King's College weaned him from the Dutch Church and enlisted his sympathies for that Church in which he was in after years to be a Bishop. Samuel Johnson, a strong Churchman by conviction, was then the President of the College, and the students in those days were few enough in numbers to allow of personal intercourse between them and their President, whose influence must therefore have been direct and great.

Samuel Provoost was graduated as Bachelor of Arts, in the class of 1758. In the summer of 1761 he sailed for England, arriving at Falmouth in September. In November he entered St. Peter's College, Cambridge, as a

[1] For a very full account of this family, see *Biographical and Genealogical Notes of the Provost Family from 1545 to 1895*, by Andrew J. Provost. New York, 1895. Privately printed. Three hundred copies only. Printed for private distribution by the Author.

Fellow-Commoner. His tutor was the great Dr. Jebb, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. Young Provoost had a special aptitude for learning languages; he was not only an accurate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, but knew French and Italian. In a letter to his father, dated April 15, 1765, he thus alludes to his proficiency:

"I can get my degree and Commendamus here whenever I please; nothing but my being too young for orders could prevent my returning home next summer." [1]

On the 23d of February he was ordained Deacon by Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, at the Chapel Royal, in St. James's Palace. Dr. Norton, in his short Life, gives February 3d as the date of Provoost's ordination to the Diaconate, but the certified copy from the Registry of the Diocese of London, printed in the Appendix, gives the date as February 23d.[2]

On Palm Sunday, March 23d, of the same year, and not on the 25th as usually stated, he was ordained Priest in King's Chapel, Whitehall, by Edmund Kean, Bishop of Chester.[3]

During his stay at Cambridge he had formed a friendship with a fellow-student, Benjamin Bousfield. The widowed mother of young Bousfield, with her daughter Maria, paid her son a visit at the University. Provoost fell in love with his friend's sister, and they were married at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, June 8, 1766.

A few months after the marriage the young couple sailed for New York, and on December 23d of the same year he became Assistant Minister in Trinity Parish, being appointed

[1] Norton's *Life of Bishop Provoost*, p. 30.
[2] Appendix IV.
[3] Appendix V. (Extract from Registry of Diocese of Chester.)

" to officiate in his turn at the several Churches on the Lord's Day and at Prayers on Week Days when requested by the Rector."

His stipend was fixed at £200 a year, Ogilvie and Inglis being his fellow Assistant-Ministers.

It was the custom in those days to assign the Assistant Ministers to the duty of preaching in the several churches of the Parish, by a Roster showing their appointments. On the back of one of Mr. Provoost's sermons, there is the following specimen of that publication:

	" Trinity.	St. George's.	St. Paul's.
Aug. 2d.			
	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. Provost,
	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Ogilvie.
" 9th.			
	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Auchmuty,
	Mr. Auchmuty,	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis."

This custom continued for more than a hundred years; and as the Parish grew and the churches increased in number, the Roster, or *Routine*, as it was lately called, became an elaborate and lengthy Order, requiring great calculation to ensure an equable distribution of duty. It was discontinued about the year 1870 when the assignments were made permanent at each church. An ordinance of the Vestry required the composing and publication of this routine, which not infrequently resulted in dissatisfaction on the part of the Clergy, and complaints of the Rector, as having been either partial or careless in assigning them to duty.

Early in the year 1769, Mr. Provoost announced his intention of returning to England on his private business.[1] Leave of absence was granted for that purpose, but with the understanding that his salary should not be continued until his return.

[1] See *History of Trinity Church*, Part I., p. 326; also, Records, liber i., folio 339.

On his return from his visit to Ireland in 1769 Mr. Provoost found that there was a feeling in the Parish against him. There is little doubt that as a preacher the young clergyman did not suit those who had become accustomed to the fiery exhortations of Whitefield, who had been preaching in New York. Nor did the teachings of the Methodist find much favor with him, as may be seen from the following letter, written about this time.

"I should think my situation perfectly agreeable, if it were not for the bigotry and enthusiasm that generally prevail here among people of all denominations. Even the Church, particularly the lower members of it, is not free from the general infection. As I found this to be the case, I made it a point to preach the plain doctrine of religion and morality in the manner I found them enforced by the most eminent divines of the Church of England. This brought an accusation against me by those people, that I was endeavoring to sap the foundations of Christianity, which they imagined to consist in the doctrines of absolute predestination and reprobation, placing such unbounded confidence in the merits of Christ as to think their own endeavors quite unnecessary, and not in the least available to salvation; and consigning to everlasting destruction all who happen to differ from them in the most trivial matters. I was, however, happy enough to be supported by many of the principal persons of New York."[1]

To a man of the temperament of Samuel Provoost, the extravagant forms of enthusiasm and doctrinal expression of the early Methodists must have been peculiarly distasteful. This will account for his unpopularity among a certain section of the people; his attitude in the struggle for Independence made him equally unpopular with others.

He was not timid in proclaiming his opinions. What he believed he frankly professed, as is witnessed by his allusions to the war in his sermons. In one written on Deut. xxix: 29, and delivered either on Trinity Sunday, 1767, or Trinity Sunday, 1771, the following paragraph occurs:

[1] Norton's *Life*, p. 39.

"We are now fighting for our laws and for our liberties, for our friends, families and country. May the guilty be prevailed on to repent of their sins, and the righteous persevere in their integrity. May he grant understanding to our counsellors and teach our senators wisdom. May he inspire with steadiness and unanimity, with conduct and bravery our fleets and armies, and may the blessing of heaven attend us in all our just and lawful undertakings, and finally, may we be favoured in due time with a safe, honourable, advantageous and lasting peace and tranquility! Then will our trade revive and flourish, our fields yield their increase, and there will be no room for complaining in our streets, then will the divine protection be the glory of our land, and upon that glory there will be a defence."[1]

This unpopularity was no doubt the real cause for a proposal of the Vestry in October, 1769, to dismiss him from the position of Assistant Minister, though the reason given on the minutes is that

"of the insufficiency of the Corporation Funds to support him."[2]

The matter was, however, referred to the next meeting, which on November 6, 1769, resolved

"that Mr. Provoost be continued and paid by what can be raised by subscription only."[3]

On December 15th a committee was appointed to collect the subscriptions.[4]

This method of payment, never successful for any length of time, was doomed to be a failure when the Minister was in any degree unpopular. We are therefore not surprised at finding from the minutes of May 27, 1771,

[1] According to the memoranda on it, this sermon was preached four times: on "Trinity Sunday 1767. Trinity Church morning—St. Paul's afternoon.
Trinity Sunday 1771. St. George's, afternoon.
Trinity Sunday 1785. St. Paul's M. St. George's A.
Trinity Sunday June 8, 1800. St. George's St. Paul's."
The paragraphs on the war could, however, have been delivered in no other years than 1767 or 1771, as only then would they have been appropriate.

[2] Liber i., fol. 344. [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 345. [4] *Ibid.*, 346.

that the subscription was not raised because the members of the committee found that though many were ready to subscribe to Mr. Provoost's stipend, yet if they did so, others would withdraw their subscriptions, to a like amount, from Mr. Ogilvie and Mr. Inglis, whereupon "they were discouraged from prosecuting the said subscriptions."

Under these circumstances Mr. Provoost wisely determined to resign, which he did on May 21, 1771, when the balance owing him was ordered to be made up.

On looking for a place of residence, where he might abide in peace during the war, he was naturally influenced to select the neighborhood of the residence of the Livingstons. With Walter and Robert Cambridge Livingston, who were at college with him at Cambridge, he had already formed a close friendship. He accordingly settled at East Camp between Clermont and Claverack. He thus frankly describes his position at that time:

"I have no salary or income of any kind, the Estate which formerly supported me having been in the hands of the Enemy ever since they took possession of New York. The place on which I live is so far from maintaining my family, that I am now in debt for the greatest part of the wheat they have consumed since the beginning of the War. Besides selling part of my furniture, etc., and running in debt for various necessaries, I have, from time to time, borrowed money of my friends to considerable amount. My mother and family are refugees from the City, and nearly in the same situation as myself; and I am prevented by the Constitution of the State, and canons of the Church, from entering into any secular employment." [1]

[1] Norton's *Life*, p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

SPECIMENS OF PROVOOST'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Letters from East Camp—To his Mother—To his Brother—To his Wife's Mother—To his Brother—To Count Claudio Ronzone—Provoost Joins in the Defence of his Farm—Elected Delegate to Provincial Congress—Chaplain—Elected Rector of St. Michael's, Charleston—Letter of Declination—Probable Election to King's Chapel, Boston—Evacuation of New York by the British—Prompt Action Taken by Provoost's Friends.

THE letters and correspondence of Mr. Provoost during his sojourn at East Camp are of interest for the light which they cast upon the times and the manner of his life during a period of great trial. His sermons, of which we possess a large number in manuscript, are particularly valuable, by way of illustration of his memoirs. It was his custom, for some inscrutable reason, to use the blank pages at the end of his discourses for all kinds of memoranda. Here are to be found genealogical notes, references to personal and family affairs, remarks on current events, and even sonnets and short verses in English and even in Italian, in which tongue, as has been already remarked, he was a proficient. In the Appendix[1] will be found a complete list of his sermons known to be in existence, with notes of the extraneous matter which they contain. It is from these sermons that some of the letters have been selected which are now to be presented to the reader. It has been conjectured by persons who have examined these remarkably illustrated and extended discourses, that the price of

[1] Appendix VII.

paper and the short supply of money, while at East Camp, induced that unique method of using the blank pages. No doubt there are preachers in our own day whose sermons would be more eagerly sought after and more carefully preserved for future reference, if it had occurred to the writers to embellish them in this manner.

Let us proceed to some of the letters selected as specimens of the correspondence of that period:

I. Samuel Provoost to his Mother.

" Dr Mother

" I intended to send you a letter by the Manor sloop which we expected would sail 2 or 3 weeks ago but as the harvest and want of freight detains her still in the Country we commit this to the care of Mr. R. R. Livingston who sets off next sunday. David's sudden departure both surprised and affected us but I think business being very dull in N. Y. that he has acted very prudently and make no doubt but the Voyage will be to his improvement and advantage. Maria who has undergone a great deal of fatigue this summer has been poorly for some days. I mentioned in my last my want of money I must again beg that you will send me fifty pounds as soon as you can conveniently after the receipt of this. You will excuse my troubling you again upon this subject as there is no one here I would willingly apply to and you know that I lately performed the funeral ceremony over the judges father and the eldest daughter of Col Peter Livingston a very amiable girl about 15 years old.—This is a very busy time about the Country and we bid fair to have a tolerable harvest, I have already nine waggon loads of wheat in the barn and expect as many more — I have pressed you so often to visit us that I can add nothing further upon this head. Since my last we have received the paint & by Capt. Post some parcels of news papers and 2 or three letters from James, he may depend upon my writing to him the next opportunity. We have had a confused account of a small skirmish in which a few men were killed on governors Island I shall be glad to know the particulars of it.—I remain with compliments to Mrs James & Dr

" Madam

" Your most Dutiful "

The date of this letter can be approximately fixed by the fact that Judge Robert R. Livingston died at the close of 1775. The name and date of death of the daughter of Colonel Peter Livingston are not ascertainable. The affair at Governor's Island alluded to at the end of the letter may be the affair of the 27th of October, 1776, recorded on page 304 of Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution.*

"In the evening of the 27th the army encamped in front of the enemy's works. On the 28th, at night broke ground six hundred yards distant from a redoubt upon their left, and on the 29th at night, the rebels evacuated their entrenchments, and Red Hook, with the utmost silence, and quitted Governor's Island the following evening, leaving their cannon and a quantity of stores, in all their works. At day break on the 30th their flight was discovered; the pickets of the line took possession, and those most advanced reached the shore opposite to New York, as their rear guard was going over, and fired some shots among them."

On the last page of the sermon is Provoost's autograph — and the signature of a child, Charlotte Davies.

In *Davies's Memoir*, on page 59, we read:

"Charlotte Davies. Charlotte, only daughter of the Reverend Thomas Davies and Mary Hervey, his wife, was born at New Milford, Conn., February 12th 1765, and on March 27th 1783, was married to Jonathan Burrall, of Canaan, Conn., at which place she died on June 23rd 1785 leaving two sons surviving her, one named Thomas Davies Burrall, hereafter mentioned, and another whose name is not known, and who died young leaving no issue."

The Reverend Thomas Davies, Charlotte's father, graduated at Yale in 1758, was ordained Priest in 1761 at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to the county of Litchfield, Conn. He died in 1766. His children, William and Charlotte, were sent to their relatives at Amenia at an early age.

Amenia is not far from East Camp. The Davieses had also relatives at Poughkeepsie where Provoost occasionally preached. As the handwriting on the sermons is that of a child of six to nine years of age, it is most probable that the above "Charlotte Davies" was the one for whom Provoost set the writing copy and whose childish autograph appears on his sermons.

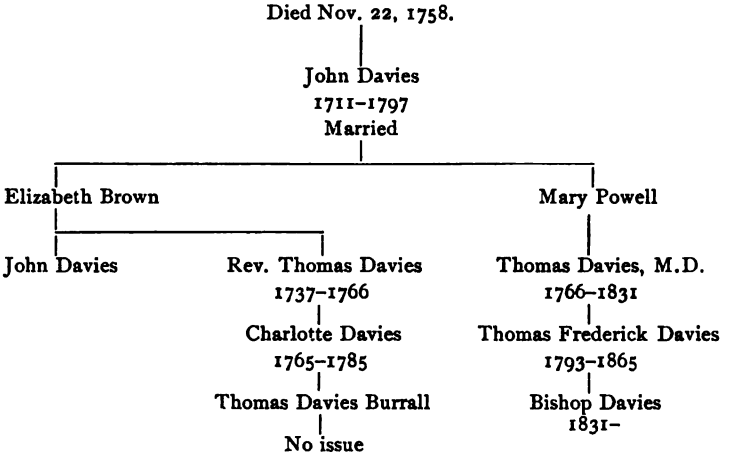
The present honored Bishop of Michigan, Dr. Davies, is a descendant of Thomas Davies, the S. P. G. Missionary.[1]

II. Samuel Provoost to his Brother.

"Dr Brother

"I received the books you sent me by Lawrence they afforded me the most agreeable amusement in my Country retirement. D'Alrimple has set the period he treats off in a clearer light than any body before him and made some interesting discourses unknown to former historians — Lord Chesterfield had always the character of one the politest writers and best bred persons of the age, his letters shew him to have been at the same time the tenderest of fathers and most amiable of men. I suppose you interest yourself a little in the fate of this Country and am therefore sorry that my distance from town and the uncertainty

[1] John Davies. First American Ancestor.
Died Nov. 22, 1758.



of opportunities for Ireland puts it out of my power to write any that you will not be acquainted with before you receive my letters. The late iniquitous acts of Parliament and the sanguinary measures taken to enforce them have induced the different Provinces to unite firmly for their common defence, each Province has its separate Provincial congress intended to enforce its resolves, and to be subject to the controul of the grand Continental congress which sits at Philadelphia. An association has been formed and signed by an incredible number of people to support the measures of these Congresses never to submit to slavery, but to venture our lives and property in the defence of our Liberty and Country. Gentlemen of approved abilities are appointed to take the command of our forces, as Col. Hall has I think served in America and may be able to give you their characters I shall send a few of them. Col. Washington, a Virginian gentleman of considerable property, most respectable and who behaved very gallantly in many engagements last war is appointed Commander in chief of our Army. Col. Lee has given up his half pay and accepted of a Commission of Major General in the American Service. Horatio Gates formerly, I think, a Major in the English pay is appointed adjutant general. Captain Montgomery, an Irishman, and Brother to the Countess of Rane and our neighbor in the country is brigadier general of the New York forces and Fleming formerly adjutant to the 16th Regt. which was quartered a few years ago at Corke, is a Lieut. Col., the other general officers are mostly of this country. There are so many thousands in this wide extended Continent determined not to survive the loss of the Liberties that there is little probability the English will get the better in this impolitic contest the event of which I think they have greater reason to fear than the Americans, for our numbers increase so fast, that the country must naturally rise superior in the end to any present difficulties. Whereas if England once sinks she will find it difficult to emerge again. General Gage has had two engagements with the people of New England in which his men have been so roughly handled that they have thought it proper to remain quiet for some weeks past — it is reported that there was about a thousand officers and soldiers killed in the last engagement in which the loss of the provincials was but inconsiderable. Col. Peter Livingston aquaints us that he is to set off for town ToMorrow — I am going to the Manour to trouble him with a few lines to let you know that we have received the Articles you sent by the Judge's sloop and to return Basford Abbey for the use of which I am much obliged to your son David — you cant expect much news from our Situation — the

weather continues still very moderate tho' the country begins to look a little gloomy as the fields have lost their verdure and the trees their leaves. I have been prevented as yet from going to the nine pastures by an ugly wound that my Right hand Master Hamlet gave himself in the foot with the axe as he was cutting wood — it has confined him a fortnight. . . . If the farm is not yet advertised I really think it would be advisable to mention it for sale as well to be let — possibly a good price may be offered for it; it would be better to sell it for a moderate one than to be continually pestered for the want of cash. I still leave it to you to do as you think best. Mr. Livingston without doubt will be able to put you in a way to send up the money you are to receive for me, a disappointment in this Article would put me to the greatest inconvenience. I shall be glad to hear how you are like to succeed in your two Law suits. Maria joins in presenting love & compliments to Mrs. James etc. etc."

The Countess of "Rane" mentioned in the above letter is evidently meant to be the Countess of "Ranelagh," as Sarah, the sister of Richard Montgomery, married Charles, fourth Viscount Ranelagh. Richard Montgomery married Janet, daughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont. He was killed at the storming of Quebec, December 31, 1775.

This letter must have been written between June 22 and December 9, 1775.

III. Draft of Letter in Provoost's Handwriting to Mrs. Provoost's Mother.

"My Dr Mother can easily form an Idea of the vast pleasure I had in hearing of the health of her, my brother & Sister by a letter which I received from my Sister Purefoy dated last June which is the only one I have had since the beginning of the war — I wrote by Mrs Schuyler and again last December but have not had another opportunity until now — my Sister begs I would be particular — if I had her talent for writing I would venture to be so — but as this is not the case and my letters are to go open, I must be content with telling you as usual that Mr Provoost myself and children are well and that I have a young daughter of a fortnight old which indeed is the only pleasing news I can send you. I make no doubt but that it would afford you great satisfaction to hear

my little Ben. Bousfield as plain as I do, singing with his sisters Betty and Maria. I should, I think, feel myself more happy if they were all under your tender care during the present troubles, tho' I should be, I am sure, at times very lonesome unless I had their little pratling conversations. Permit me to request my sister to find out every conveyance to write to me. It has ever been one of my greatest satisfactions since I have lived in this Country to hear from home, and since this Melancholy war I have been greatly debarred from that Pleasure. I heard with great concern of the Death of Mrs Oliver. My Aunt Newman how I feel for her! but her own amiable mind and good understanding will supply her with great consolation.

"Mr Provoost joins with me &c &c &c."

IV. Draft of Letter to his Brother.

"Dr James

"Since he escaped so well in the end I am not sorry for the difficulties he met with, the pleasure he will have in recollecting and reciting his adventure, will more than compensate for his fatigue. I am glad to find that you and Lord Sterling have exerted yourselves so nobly in putting New York in a proper posture of defence, I wish D was arrived that he might cooperate with you. I am very sorry my Mother has been so unlucky in her houses, and long to hear if my place has had better success. At any rate we must be prepaired to bear our part of the General Calamity, if we live another year or two I am confident we shall have happier times and see America more flurishing than ever. . . . If you can be spared from the City we shall expect you &c, &c, by the return of the sloop, your Military abilities will not live idle here for we have Company of men who dont want for spirit and who only require some of your assistance to bring them under proper discipline."

V. Draft of Letter to Count Claudio Ronzone.[1]

"To Count Claudio Ronzone[2]

"Your Lordship does wrong to the love I have always born you from your infancy and of which all my actions since your arrival to years of Discretion ought to have convinced you, beseeching me to do what you

[1] At the end of a sermon by Dr. Provoost, on 1 Peter iii: 13. The notes state that the sermon was preached March 29, 1767. St. George's, Morning; Trinity, Afternoon, 1789. April 5, Morning, St. Paul's.

[2] The Ronzoni are one of the most illustrious and ancient Italian families. Like most of the great Italian nobles they claim to trace their pedigree back to pre-

might have freely commanded me — and what if I had known it was for your service I was bound to do without any command. I will do it with all possible diligence and sincerity — for the confidence you put in me I return infinite thanks, in no time or situation shall you ever have occasion to think it misplaced — the councel you desire you might certainly have asked from a more prudent but not from a more faithful breast than mine — and I will give you such as the love I bear you and the confidence you place in me deserves. If I pass the bounds of modesty blame your own humane and my free and ingenuous temper which impels me to it. I cannot and will not flatter — and particularly in an affair of so much moment to you, what a species of treachery would it be not to speak my sentiments. My Lord to desire (now without any reasons given you) to depart from the service of that excellent Republic which you have served so much to your own honour and their satisfaction, to deprive her of the hope she promises herself from your bravery, and for you to lose what her usual gratitude gives you reason to expect appears to me rather to merit reprehension than applause — and I fear that urged on by your impetuous desires of glory you may quit the substance for the shadow, which desires tho' they may proceed from a generous mind they never do from a prudent one — if you believe the contrary — I must not only greatly blame your opinion but also myself for the judgment I had formed of you, neither am I willing that hope of greater reward, or greater reputation should persuade you. The Count Guido your father, considering the love and reverence you have for him is a good example tho' with large steps you attempt if not to surpass at least to equal in fame yet he is still a good way before you.

"Perhaps you may think it would be better to serve a King than a Republic, particularly a King so liberal, so magnanimous, and so much a friend to virtue as this is, and it certainly would be better if the State of the world allowed of it, and if he was possessed of all those qualities which are proper and necessary for a perfect Prince. Nobody doubts but that more may be hoped for from one than many, if that one is able by himself to bestow upon you the benefits and the reputation that many together can. Who knows not that it is easier to acquire by virtuous actions the love of one than of many, for it being impossible that many should be all virtuous, all prudent, all knowers of good, not love the vitious — not know virtue and consequently the merit of the

Christian times. At any rate it is authentic that the Ronzoni were influential in the twelfth century. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Milan, which antedates the foundation of the great Cathedral, was erected about the year 1110 by Benedetto Ronzone, a Crusader.

virtuous, and consequently not knowing, not loving it how can they possibly concur with the others in rewarding and dignifying according to its worth !— infinite other reasons might be produced in favour of this opinion which are rather superfluous than necessary. I shall only mention those which occur to me on the contrary, reasons rather produced by accidents of the world and the conditions of the Times than from the Quality of the thing, and I will tell you why, it is more proper, more useful and more for your reputation to serve that illustrious Senate. You must have heard and known by experience that the service of Italian Noblemen is not very agreeable, I will not say to the most Christian King but to his ministers who have the management of affairs, and that they employ them more thro' necessity than love and more to deprive others of their services than to avail themselves of their assistance — if this, if it was caused by the little faith, or little merit, or bad management of our Predecessors who served them, or thro' the envy, the designs and the ambition of those that govern I am not a proper person to form a judgment and so much the less as the grand master appears to me a person of great genius, of great prudence, of infinite valour and desert — the effect is seen — the causes are concealed — what then can you expect from a Prince who employs you through necessity not choice. Don't you perceive, that the more your merit the greater will be the envy of the governors who will strive to crush and abase your promotion and reputation — and your expectation will be cut short when you 'r just entering into the road to glory ? What end can you propose worthy of yourself and of your bravery. Can you hope for greater rank than your Uncle ? surely no ! no gentleman of Italy ever arrived at greater and this is the utmost bounds to which your valour can arrive. Have you not the same promotion in this famous state, that you can expect from the king ? if the stipend is greater — your expenses will also increase — and you will spend as much in a single visit when your duty calls you to that court as you would in many to this Republic (which in the judgment of good men) every Italian Prince should serve. Is she not the ornament and the lustre of Italian dignity ? does she not seem an Image of the authority and grandeur of the Roman State ? In this obscure and tempestuous age, what other light or splendor does there remain to miserable Italy ? Are we not all slaves, all tributaries, I say not to Barbarous — but to foreign Nations—those very nations which the ancient and brave Italians led burthened with chains and bound before their chariots in their glorious Triumphs. This only has preserved its ancient liberty. This only renders obedience to none but God and its own well

regulated laws. Let us preserve these reliques — this pattern of ancient Dignity. Are you not an Italian and born under the same climate? is she not your sister? in serving her, don't you at the same time serve yourself — your country — your liberty — your safety — your reputation — your sons — your Posterity — your eternal fame? Will you bear those arms that may shed the blood of your sons — your brothers — your friends — your parents? Will you light a fire that may burn your country — your house and your estate? What Italian Nobleman do you see advanced by the Most Christian King to the first offices in his army — dont you perceive that the riches and commissions bestowed upon them are infinitely inferior to what they might have acquired in the Service of their country? On the contrary what rank—what reward may you expect from that excellent Republick? have you not numberless examples of her gratitude before your eyes? is not that wonderful city crowded with memorials of her worthy commanders who live, and will always live in these testimonies of their bravery? have you not in view the many families that are exalted — the many that are enriched by the rewards which the grateful Republic bestows upon the well deserving. Kings are mortal — and though their sons are heirs to their kingdoms and Paternal Inheritance, they are not heirs to their love and obligations — the Republic is perpetual, is always alive — is always mindful of benefits received — but why do I labour to demonstrate this, you may see it much better than I can in the mirror of your own Prudence. I entreat you that you will not suffer the designs of others to drag you from the path of wisdom. In your own affairs let your own reason be your guide — no one can give you better counsel than yourself — consider then the Quality of the times, the variableness of things, and the instability of the wills of man.

"My love towards you — my wishes for your honour and the Duty which I owe to you have induced me to say thus much. May you have the same opinion of my good offices that I have of your virtue."[1]

His letter to his Italian friend is but another testimony to Provoost's strong republican tendencies. The well-known incident of Provoost's preparing to resist a British attack on his farm, October, 1777, belongs to this period.

[1] The reader must bear in mind that this is only a rough draft or copy hurriedly written out. This accounts for the omission of some words, and the lack of proper punctuation in this and the other letters.

"When the British fleet ascended the Hudson River, and burnt Esopus,[1] after they had set fire to Judge Livingston's house, which was but a little way below Mr. Provoost's farm, a detachment of soldiers from the fleet was observed approaching the shore not far from Mr. Provoost's dwelling. He and a number of his neighbors armed themselves, with a hope that they might defend their property. The soldiers were seen to land and leave their boat in charge of a guard of two or three men. It was immediately proposed by the armed citizens to surprise the guard and destroy the boat, which would insure, with the fever that could soon be raised in the country, the capture of the whole detachment. With this design, Mr. Provoost and his party crept along the river, concealed by the rocks and bushes till they got so near the boat as to bear the fruit of executing their design, when to their great disappointment, the soldiers who had left the shore met with something which hastened their return, and the reverend gentleman and his associates were glad to keep themselves hid, not without fear that they would be discovered."[2]

Mr. Provoost's patient endurance of poverty and privation, and his readiness to defend his convictions, won for him the regard and admiration of the Americans. In the election for delegates to the Provincial Congress, the name of Samuel Provoost headed the list. He declined, however, to accept the position.

The Convention of 1776 requested Mr. Provoost to preach to them. He returned the following reply:

"CAMP, MANOR OF LIVINGSTON, August 11th, 1776.

"SIR,

"I lately received the resolve of the Honourable Convention, in which I am requested to preach before them on the 27th day of this month.

"As I am convinced of the justice of the cause they are engaged in, and duly sensible of the honour intended me by their appointment, if I follow my own inclinations, I shall very readily comply with their request; but so many things occur which would render it highly inconvenient for me to officiate upon this occasion, that I must rely upon their goodness to excuse me.

"I cannot presume to take up your time with so inconsiderable a

[1] October 13, 1777.

[2] Evergreen, vol. I., 195.

subject, therefore shall mention my reason for deserving their indulgence to James Duane, Esq. and Col. Hoffman, two worthy members of the Convention, and flatter myself they will prove satisfactory to that respectable assembly.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant

"SAMUEL PROVOOST.

"Brigadier General Woodhull."[1]

The following year he was elected Chaplain by the Committe of Safety, who framed the following resolution:

"*Resolved* That the Revd. Mr. Samuel Provost be appointed Chaplain to the Convention of this State, and that he be requested to attend to perform prayers every morning and divine service every Sunday before the Convention or Committee of Safety at this place.

"*Ordered* That a Committee appointed to prepare a resolution for a day of fasting and prayer, be directed to wait on Mr. Provost with a copy of the aforegoing resolve."[2]

On February 28th the Committee reported,

"that Mr. Provoost, for sundry good reasons offered to the Committee (and by them verbally mentioned to the House) is under the necessity of declining the honour of serving as Chaplain to the Convention: Thereupon,

"*Resolved*, That the reasons assigned by Mr. Provoost are satisfactory to the Committee of Safety."[3]

Though refusing to act as Chaplain to the Convention he nevertheless drew up its prayers. Among the sermons in the possession of Gen. James Grant Wilson, is a loose sheet of MS. containing a transcript of the Orders of Congress for a day of "Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer" for Friday, May 17th. This resolution of Congress may be found, word for word, on page 286 of *Journals of Congress*, 1776. In the copy before us the resolution has appended to it these words:

[1] P. 248 of *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, vol. ii.

[2] Resolution of the Com. of Safety, Feb. 22, 1777, *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, vol. i.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 818.

"May that Being who is powerful to save, and in whose hand is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion upon the whole of the United Colonies, may he continue to smile upon their councils and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of Virtue and of mankind. May every part of this wide extended continent thro' his divine favour, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety, secured upon a solid, permanent and lasting foundation."

While on the subject of State Prayers it may be well to refer to a little-known action of the New York Provincial Convention. At a session held at White Plains, July 11, 1776, in a letter addressed to the Continental Congress, the following very wise suggestion was made:

"We take the liberty of suggesting to your consideration also, the propriety of taking some measures for expunging from the Book of Common Prayer, such parts, and discontinuing in the congregation of all other denominations, all such prayers as interfere with the interest of the American cause. It is a subject we are afraid to meddle with, the Enemies of America having taken great pains to insinuate into the minds of the Episcopalians that the Church was in danger.

"We would wish this Congress now pass some resolve to quiet their fears, and we are confident it would do essential service to the cause of America, at least in this State." [1]

In the year 1777, Mr. Provoost was honored by a call from the Vestry of St. Michael's, Charleston, S. C., to the Rectorship of that parish. In their records, under date of April, 1777, there appears a draft of a letter from the Vestry to Mr. George Abbott Hall, a fellow-member of the Vestry, as follows:

"CHARLES TOWN 23 April 1777.

"SIR:—

"We shall be much obliged upon your arrival at Philadelphia you will endeavour to procure a minister for St. Michael's Parish. We

[1] Letter from the Provincial Convention held at White Plains, July 11, 1776, to the Honorable John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress. P. 521 of *Journals*.

have been informed a Mr. Provoost would come out on proper application. Should you see that gentleman you will please to inform him of the situation of St. Michael's and of the sallery and purquesits he may receive. We need not relate to you any particulars as you are well acquainted with our circumstances and the minister that may be agreeable to the Parish.

"We are Sir,

"Yours etc.

"George Abbott Hall Esq."

On the back of the sermons, delivered October 16 and and 23, 1768, is found a draft of the letter of declination:

"Sir,

"I embrace the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your polite and obliging letter and to give you as candidly as I can my principal reason for declining the very advantageous offer that you hold out to me. In the beginning of our present disputes when each province was endeavouring to unite the better to oppose the Tyranny of the British court I remark'd with great concern that all the clergymen of the Church in these northern states who received salaries from the Society, or any emolument from England, were unanimous in opposing the measures of a vast majority of their countrymen, so great a harmony amongst people in their particular circumstances pretty clearly evinced that some at least were biass'd by interested views. As I had no pecuniary connection with old England, and entertained political opinions quite opposite to the rest of my Brethren, I was apprehensive that a profession of these opinions might be imputed to mercenary motives, and an ungenerous desire of rising upon their ruin. To obviate any suspicions of this kind *I formed a resolution never to accept of* any preferment during the present contest, though as a private person I have been and shall always be ready to encounter any danger that may be incurred in defence of our rights and liberties.

In consequence of this resolution I lately refused (when apply'd to by the Convention) being appointed Chaplain to this State, and now must return a negative to the application of the Vestry of St. Michael's though with the greatest reluctance. For from the general character of the People and other circumstances there is no part of America in which I promise myself greater happiness than South Carolina. It may perhaps be weakness in me to sacrifice my interest thro' fear of

undeserved censure, but it is a weakness I find myself incapable of overcoming, and I shall think myself happier to live with studious economy on a trifling fortune than to accept of any preferment which I might be thought to have acquired by any low design or artificial conduct.

"If we are blessed with success in this war, as there is the greatest reason to think we shall be, I am confident that America will be supplied with Clergymen from England, who will be an honour to the Church in this country. I can't help giving a paragraph from the letter of a gentleman of singular merit and eminence in the University of Cambridge dated so long ago as August 21, 1774.

"'Perhaps,' says he, 'your sentiments and mine do not intirely agree with respect to American affairs, whatever yours be, I have no doubt that they are the result of conviction, mine have long been intirely on the side of Liberty, and it is with Horror that I look upon all the proceedings of this country from ye stamp act to the conclusion of the scheme so clearly to my Apprehension manifested in the infamous Quebec bill. I carry the affair still further, as a well wisher to this Island I hope that unanimity and resolution blended with calm discretion may attend the counsels of ensuing congress, and if force be attempted that success may attend the struggles of men contending for their most valuable rights. The eyes of men seem now to be opening a little in this country, the Bishop of Asaph's Discourses and a little tract addressed to Protestant dissenters, the second part of which treats of American affairs, have conduced much to enlarge our ideas upon this subject. . . . the Bishop of Carlyle is well and a friend to Liberty.'

"I hope that what I have said may prove satisfactory to the gentlemen of St Michael's whose kind intentions have impressed upon me the warmest sentiments of gratitude.

"I shall always be happy to acknowledge how much I am

"Dr Sir your most obliged

"and very humble servant

"To

"George Abbott Hall Esqre."

The part *underlined* in above copy is in the original crossed out with the pen.

The Hon. Cadwallader D. Colden states that Mr. Provoost, who was his father-in-law, was elected Minister of King's Chapel, Boston, in 1782.

This may have been the case, but we have been unable to obtain corroborative evidence of that statement.

The Warden of King's Chapel, Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, is strongly of opinion that no such call was extended, for the reasons that there is no trace of it in the carefully kept records, that Mr. Provoost's views did not accord with those of the Proprietor, and that Mr. James Freeman was chosen in 1782.

On the other hand, it may be said that Mr. Colden would not have asserted the fact so positively had he not had the information direct from Mr. Provoost, that calls to parishes are usually not recorded in the minutes unless accepted, and that the reputation of Samuel Provoost as an ardent patriot would have been the governing reason for electing him, without much regard to his theological views.

With the evacuation of New York, the period of retirement at East Camp came to a close. The success of the American cause meant better days and brighter fortunes for the Provoosts. Accordingly, under date of December 3, 1783, a friend writes to Mr. Provoost:

"I have to congratulate you most cordially on the happy alteration of affairs here. General Washington, with the American Army entered last Tuesday amid the joyful acclamation of thousands, with such decorum that no riot or disturbance ensued, as was expected. The tories who stayed behind on the Embarkation of the British remained quiet within their dwellings, and are still unmolested.

We have lately had two dreadful alarms, first with conflagration which destroyed the brewhouse and buildings of Aunt Rutgers, and burnt the roof of our large red store, and lastly with a severe shock of an Earthquake which happened on Saturday night—No evil effects were the consequence of the latter in this City, but at Philadelphia many stacks of chimneys were thrown down. You have a very strong party here, who will spare no exertions for you. They even talk of making you Bishop of New York, on the same footing that the Rev. Mr. Smith has lately been appointed Bishop of Maryland.

This is the universal topic. . In short, I am as sure that something very handsome will be done for you as I am of my own existence. There is to be a public meeting of the Whig Episcopalians this evening by notification. It is generally imagined that your name will be mentioned in their debates."

The election of Samuel Provoost as the Rector of Trinity Parish, has been already related in a preceding chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW VESTRY.

Committees Appointed—Appointment of Assistant Ministers Considered—Mr. Abraham Beach Appointed—Petitions for Appointment of Mr. Benjamin Moore and Mr. Uzal Ogden—Appointment Referred to the Congregation—Mr. Uzal Ogden and Mr. Benjamin Moore Appointed additional Assistant Ministers—Subscriptions for their Stipend.

THE election of a Rector to fill the place made vacant by the resignation of Dr. Inglis was followed by the adoption of measures for the better despatch of the business of the Parish, and by the election of several Assistant Ministers to carry on the work. It was enacted that the business of the Corporation should be arranged in five different branches, and that committees should be appointed as follows:

1st. A committee to audit the accounts of the Corporation and examine its debts and credits.

2d. A committee to attend to the leases of the Church lands.

3d. A committee to superintend and visit the Charity School.

The Vestry then proceeded to consider the question of appointing additional Assistant Ministers, in view of the increasing work throughout the Parish, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved:* That it is essential for the interests of the Church in this City and for the due performance of the Parochial Duties, that there should be two Ministers appointed as Assistants to the Rector.

"*Resolved:* That on this day week this board will proceed to the Choice of one of the said Assistant Ministers." [1]

At the meeting held June 8th, 1784, Mr. Abraham Beach was unanimously appointed "Assistant Minister to the Rector in performing the several parochial duties in this City";[2] and it was further resolved

"that the said assistant minister should be allowed such a sum out of the revenues of the Corporation, in addition to his fees and Emoluments,[3] as should make a provision for his services equal in the whole to the sum of five hundred pounds per annum."

The appointment of Mr. Beach, as we are told by his descendant, Mr. William Beach Lawrence, was made at the particular request of the newly elected Rector.[4]

No further action seems to have been taken on the appointment of Assistants until June 16th, when the Corporation received two petitions, one in favor of Mr. Moore, the other on behalf of Mr. Uzal Ogden.[5]

The first petition was signed by Carey Ludlow and fifty-seven other persons, "members of the Episcopal Church"; the second by Samuel Spraggs and seven others "on behalf of the Society of the Methodists and other members of the Episcopal Church." This latter petition is interesting as showing the attitude of the early Methodists, who appear to have looked upon themselves as a society or guild within the Church.

The petitions were laid over till the 24th, when the following resolution was adopted:

[1] Records, liber i., folio 448.

[2] Records, liber i., folio 451.

[3] By a resolution adopted June 24th, the word "emolument" was ordered to be stricken out.

[4] Sprague's *Annals*, vol. v., 266.

[5] Records, liber i., folio 454.

"*Whereas* it is the opinion of this corporation that the appointment of three assistant ministers to the Rector will be the means of Effecting harmony and conciliation among the different members of the Church and be attended with many other Sallutary consequences, and whereas it is the wish and expectation of this Corporation that trinity Church should be rebuilt as soon as the funds of the Church will admit; when the appointment of three assistant ministers will not only be useful but necessary,

"*Resolved:* That there be three assistant ministers to the Rector in his Parochial duties.

"The Corporation, wishing as much as possible to act conformable to the opinion of the members of the Congregation in the choice of assistant ministers, do therefore:

"*Resolve:* That those persons who have delivered their names to the Clerk of the Corporation for pews or parts of pews agreeable to a former resolution of this board, be requested to attend at St. Paul's Chapel on Monday next at ten o'clock in the morning in order that this corporation may take their sense relative to their choice of the two assistant ministers which remain to be appointed.

"*Ordered:* That the Committee on pews attend at such meeting in order to collect the sense of the Congregation relative to the above appointments."[1]

The result of this meeting appears from a report of the Committee which stated that

"there ware a majority of votes in favor of the Rev. Mr. Ogden and the Rev[d] Mr. Moore.

"*Resolved:* That the said Committee on pews be requested to report particularly in writing to this Corporation at the next meeting with respect to the number of votes taken at the late meeting of the Congregation, and how many for each of the gentlemen nominated."[2]

Delays occurred, pending the question how to raise the amount of money needed to pay the stipends of the Rector and three Assistants, an attempt being made, with

[1] Records, liber i., folio 457.

These resolutions were published in the *New-York Packet and the American Advertiser* for June 28, 1784.

[2] Records, liber i., folio 458.

little success, to obtain a part of what might be required by private subscription in aid of the revenue of the Church. It seems unnecessary to cumber our pages with the many resolutions appearing in the Records on this subject. One specimen may suffice. It occurs in Liber i., folio 472. It has an interest for the reader as indicating that the Church was much embarrassed at that time, from the consequences of the war.

"*Resolved:* That Messrs. Duer, Stevens, Farquhar, Sands, Miller, and Rutherford be a committee to solicit subscriptions for the Assistant Ministers: that they go round to the congregation immediately; that they begin with their friends of the Gentlemen from whom the most liberal subscriptions may be expected and that they take every active and expeditious measure for the purpose of obtaining them."

Passing over this subject, we proceed to some remarks upon the two of the three clergymen now duly appointed Assistants to the Rector, Messrs. Abraham Beach and Uzal Ogden. We will defer giving an account of the early life of the other Assistant, Mr. Moore, till a later period, when we shall have to record his election as Rector.

CHAPTER VI.

BEACH AND OGDEN.

Abraham Beach—Birth and Parentage—Student at Yale College—Ordained in England—Missionary to Christ Church, New Brunswick—Marriage—Trying Position during the War of Independence—Closes his Churches—Letter to S. P. G.—Appointed Assistant Minister, Trinity Parish—Delegate to General Convention—Trustee of Columbia College—Regent of the University of the State of New York—Resignation—Death—Just Conduct to his Slaves—Character—Uzal Ogden—Birth and Parentage—Ordained in England—Missionary of S. P. G.—Marriage—Assistant Minister, Trinity Parish—Rector of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J.—Delegate to General Conventions—Elected Bishop of New Jersey—Action of General Convention of 1799—Election Confirmed—Memorial from Trinity Church, Newark—Asked to Resign—Applies to Presbytery of New York for Admission—Is Admitted—Death—Character.

THE clerical staff of Trinity Parish, at the date which we have now reached, was composed of Dr. Provoost, Rector, and Messrs. Abraham Beach, Uzal Ogden, and Benjamin Moore, Assistant Ministers.

Abraham Beach was born September 9, 1740, at Cheshire, Conn. His father, Elnathan Beach, married a sister of David Wooster as his second wife. Abraham was their only child. On the death of Elnathan Beach, August 16, 1742, his widow moved with her infant son to Hartford. At thirteen young Beach entered Yale College, where, being brought under the influence of Dr. Johnson, and a near kinsman, John Beach, he determined to seek Holy Orders, and accordingly sailed for England in 1767, in which year he was ordained deacon and priest.

He was appointed missionary to New Brunswick, N. J., by the Venerable Society, and took charge in September of the same year.

In his report to the Society, in 1775, he says:

"The unhappy dispute between Great Britain and the colonies operates to the disadvantage of the Church of England in this country. The Clergy are justly thought to be attached to the interest of the *Mother Country*, as well as to that of America; which, at present, is a sufficient reason for our being looked upon with a jealous eye by many of our neighbors."

Mr. Beach married Ann, daughter and sole heiress of Evert Van Winkle; through her he acquired a residence on the Raritan River, about three miles from New Brunswick. The situation was exposed and dangerous, being between the fire of both parties, the American and British skirmishers impartially contributing to the lodgment of balls in the walls of his house. A letter to the Society, February 15, 1777, describes his position upon the Declaration of Independence:

"After Independence was declared by the Congress, it was deemed High Treason for any person to pray for the King and Government, as directed by the Liturgy. I went to Church fully determined to make no alteration in the Service. When I was in the reading desk, looking for the lessons, a person came up to me, desiring to speak with me in the Churchyard; he informed me that if I should presume to pray for the King of England I should be immediately made a prisoner, and he could not answer for the consequences.

"In these circumstances, I thought it advisable rather to shut the Church for the present, than to violate the Declaration I subscribed before the Bishop at my ordination, the oath of allegiance I then took, and the natural feelings of my own mind. My Churches were accordingly shut from the 7th of July to the 8th of December; since which time I have officiated altogether at New Brunswick, the Church at Piscataqua being at present occupied as a barrack for the forty-second Regiment. My present condition is truly distressing, being situated about a quarter of a mile beyond the Picket guard of the King's troops. Parties of Washington's army are every day skulking about me. A few days ago they drove off my cattle, horses and sheep; and since I sat down to write this letter, about fifty of them surrounded my house, and

fired from thence on the out-sentry of the Hessians. They went off, however, in about an hour, without entering the house or doing any damage to those they fired on.

"I wish to be favoured with the Society's directions respecting my future conduct; my situation, as well as that of my brethren in general in this country, being very critical and distressing." [1]

Mr. Beach was for some time the only officiating clergyman of the Church of England in the whole of New Jersey. The Church in New Brunswick was not permanently opened till December, 1781. In 1783, Amboy was added to his jurisdiction. In June, 1784, as we have seen, he was appointed Assistant Minister in Trinity Parish. Notwithstanding his connections with New York, Mr. Beach represented New Jersey in the General Convention of 1785 and 1786, as Rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick.

To Mr. Beach must be accorded the merit of being the first clergyman of the now independent Church who saw the importance of bringing about a union of the scattered congregations in the new States. A society was in existence, known as the "Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans," which afforded an opportunity to bring the Clergy together on common ground; through such gatherings much was done towards the end which he had at heart: his correspondence with Bishop White is clear to that point.

In 1789 Mr. Beach represented the Diocese of New York, and continued to represent it almost uninterruptedly during the remainder of his ministerial career. In 1801, 1804, and 1808 he was President of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. When Dr. Provoost resigned the See of New York in 1801, his friends put his name forward for the bishopric; and again in 1811, when John

[1] See Perry's *History*, vol. ii., 16 *et al.*

Henry Hobart was elected Assistant Bishop, though he refused to be a competitor many votes were cast for him. In 1811 he was made Assistant Rector to Bishop Moore.

In 1789 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Columbia College. The year before he had been elected one of the Charter Trustees of that College; and in 1786 he had been chosen Regent of the University of the State of New York. When in 1790 the Vestry proceeded to name several new streets, one was called after him, Beach Street.

In 1813, Mr. Beach resigned his position in Trinity Church, and retired to his farm on the Raritan River, where, he died, September 14, 1828, at the age of eighty-eight. A tablet in Christ Church, New Brunswick, commemorates his memory. In his just and enlightened action towards his slaves he was in advance of his times. He made them keep an accurate account of the hours they worked for him; and, allowing them the regular wages current at the time, he gave them their freedom when the total sum earned equalled the amount he had paid for their purchase.

His grandson gives this description of him:

"In his intercourse with society no man could be more frank or more free from all guile. To every one, young and old, he had something appropriate to say, and he freely entered into conversation, without requiring any introduction, with all whom he met; while his dignified person, expressive countenance, and lively feelings, commanded the respect and affection of all who knew him." [1]

In churchmanship he was strong and unyielding in his belief in the absolute necessity of Episcopal ordination, and opposed all plans for a non-Episcopal ministry and for radical alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

[1] William Beach Lawrence, in Sprague's *Annals*, p. 265.

Uzal[1] Ogden, a son of Uzal Ogden, Warden of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J., was born about the year 1744. He was educated by the Rev. Dr. Chandler, the staunch missionary of the S. P. G. at Elizabethtown, N. J., and, according to Sprague's *Annals*, was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, September 21, 1773, by the Bishop of London. On his return from England he was appointed the Society's missionary for Sussex County, N. J., and thus became a fellow-worker and neighbor of Abraham Beach. Like the other clergy of those days, he suffered from the war. Writing from Sussex, January 4, 1777,

"he acquaints the Society, that on the 6th of the preceding month he had been obliged to leave his Mission and family, and take refuge in New York, from whence he is, however, returned to his Mission.[2] He is frequently commended in the Society's reports for his faithful and efficient work."

On the 30th of August, 1784, Mr. Ogden was appointed Assistant Minister in Trinity Parish. His connection with the Parish, however, appears to have been very loose, and this can hardly be regretted. It was ordered, in the call, that Mr. Ogden

"be indulged with leave of absence from the duties of his function for two thirds of the time for four years from the date of this resolution unless there shall be sooner three episcopal places of worship, or a vacancy by the death, resignation or dismission of any of the assistant ministers, and that until such time Mr. Ogden shall officiate Seventeen Sundays in the year in both or either of the Chappels as shall be appointed."

In the year 1788 he was elected Rector of Trinity Church, Newark, and resigned his place in our Parish, August 18th. On that occasion it was ordered that the

[1] This name is pronounced as the word "usual" would sound if rapidly uttered as a dissyllable.

[2] P. 54 of *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society* for 1777–78.

"thanks of the Board be presented to the Revd. Mr. Uzal Ogden for his faithful services during his Ministry in the congregation and that the R. R. Doctor Provost[1] be required to assure him that the Vestry Entertain a very high sense of his Zeal and usefulness in the cause of religion."[2]

Mr. Uzal Ogden was a conspicuous character in the Church in New Jersey. His name appears in the Journals of the Conventions held in that State, from 1785 until 1804 continuously. He was several times elected presiding officer, and was sent as a Deputy from New Jersey to the General Conventions of 1785, 1786, 1789, 1792, 1799, 1801, and 1804. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, it was felt that the American Episcopate needed strengthening, the number of bishops being only eight, of whom not more than one half were able to give proper attention to the duties of their office. On the 16th of August, 1798, Mr. Ogden was elected Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New Jersey. When his name came before the General Convention in the following year, objection was made to the confirmation of the election, and the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"Whereas as doubts have arisen in the minds of some members of the Convention, whether all the Priests who voted in the Election of the Rev. Uzal Ogden, D.D. to the office of a Bishop in the State of New Jersey, were so qualified as to constitute them a majority of the resident and officiating priests in the said State, according to the meaning of the Canon in this case made and provided. And, whereas, in a matter of so great importance to the interest of religion and the honour of our Church, it is not only necessary that they who concur in recommending to an office so very sacred should have a full conviction of the fitness of the person they recommend, but that they should also be perfectly satisfied with respect to the regularity of every step which had been taken in the business,—

[1] *Sic.*

[2] Records, liber i., folio 509.

"Resolved, therefore, that in the opinion of the House of Deputies, all proceedings respecting the consecration of the Rev. Uzal Ogden, D.D. ought to be suspended, until a future convention of the State of New Jersey shall declare their sense of the subject."[1]

It will be observed that the consecration of Mr. Ogden was opposed on the technical ground of irregularity in the proceedings at his election. In reality, the reason for the opposition lay much deeper; doubts of his loyalty to the Church were entertained, with a growing suspicion of his sentiments; impressions which were amply justified in his unfortunate career. Although a special convention of the Diocese of New Jersey, held soon after the adjournment of the General Convention, ratified the former action, with a request that the Bishops proceed to the act of consecration without delay, nothing further was done until 1804. In that year, his congregation in Newark presented a memorial to the Convention of the Diocese setting forth grounds of complaint against him. Upon the reception of this document the Convention requested Dr. Ogden to resign the Rectorship in Newark and retire upon an allowance to be paid annually by the Parish. This he refused to do.

A memorial was also presented to the General Convention of that year, "stating that a very unhappy difference, which appears to threaten the very existence of their Church, subsists between the Rector and the Congregation of said Church and praying the Convention to devise some means for their relief." The memorial was referred to a committee who reported that, as that Convention had passed a canon providing for such cases, the House ought not to go into the matter. The report was agreed to. In December of the same year, 1804, a special

[1] Page 228 of the reprint of the *Journals of General Conventions*, vol. i., edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D.

convention of New Jersey was held, when it was decided to suspend Dr. Ogden unless he should resign. Just before this Dr. Ogden withdrew from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, declaring, however, that he should continue to officiate in Trinity Church, Newark, as a priest of the Church of England. This being, of course, inadmissible, the Standing Committee, with the consent of Bishop Moore, suspended Dr. Ogden from duty in the State of New Jersey, May 9, 1805.

On the 16th of October following, Dr. Ogden was formally received as a member of the Presbyterian body.

From that date till his death, on November 4, 1822, he preached at different places, but exercised his ministry always at his own charges. He was the author of many publications, the principal one being *Antidote to Deism*, a work in two volumes and an elaborate refutation of Paine's *Age of Reason*, of which the Corporation of Trinity Church thought so highly that they circulated it at their own expense. It is but fair to his memory to say that the differences between him and his Vestry did not in any way reflect upon his character.

He is described by his contemporaries as being learned, courteous, dignified in his bearing, and full of zeal and ardor in his ministrations.[1]

[1] For further information as to the career of this man, the reader is referred to a valuable work recently published, entitled, *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New Jersey, 1785–1816*. Reprinted, New York, 1890: John Polhemus, 102 Nassau Street. This compilation was made by Messrs. James Parker and Francis Many.

CHAPTER VII.

REGULAR WORK OF PARISH RESUMED.

First Day of Public Thanksgiving—Sermon by Mr. Moore—Generous Policy of Corporation in Matter of Leases—Crowded State of Churchyards—Rule as to Further Burials—Permission Granted for Erection of Fire-Engine-House—Clerk's Table of Fees—Large Loss by Debts—Sale of Lots—Bequest of Elias Desbrosses for Maintenance of a French Clergyman—The Huguenot Congregation—It Conforms to the Anglican Liturgy—The Church du Saint Esprit—Liberality of Corporation to French Ministers—Legacy from Elias Desbrosses for Poor Children—Legacy from Margaret Todd—Annuity Granted to Mrs. Barclay—Death of Mrs. Barclay—Resignation of Mr. Tucker—Plans for a Rectory—Appointments of Presidents to Each Committee—Reports of Committees—A Foreigner's Lament—Grant of Lots to Presbyterians for Residences for their Senior Pastors—Subscription Lists for the Assistant Ministers—Taking Down Ruins of Old Trinity—Rebuilding of Trinity Church Decided on—Change of Title of Corporation Resolved on—Granted by Legislature.

IT is now proposed in our history to note the gradual resumption of the regular work of the Parish, upon the termination of the War of Independence, and to show the methods adopted in the business proceedings of the period.

A day of public thanksgiving for the final establishment of American independence was observed in the month of December, 1783. It is of record that a sermon was preached on that occasion by the Rev. Mr. Moore, from the text:

"For before these days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast; neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in because of the affliction: for I set all men every one against his neighbor.

"But now I will not be unto the residue of this people as in the former days, saith the Lord of hosts.

"For the seed shall be prosperous; the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things."[1]

The question of the renewal of the leases of the Church farm came up for consideration at this period, as soon as public affairs had become settled. Many of the holders of these leases had been in the American army, and consequently lapses had occurred in the payment of rents; others of the tenants had fallen in the war, killed in battle or succumbing to privation and disease, so that it was uncertain to whom renewals should be granted. The policy of the Corporation on this subject is shown in the resolutions adopted May 18th and July 29th, 1784, as follows:

"*Resolved:* That when any Person who has taken a Lease from the late Managers of the Church Estate during the war, makes it appear to the Committee on Leases that he is better entitled to a Lease on such Lot than any other person; that then the Committee on Leases report the same to the Board in order that a New Lease be granted to Such Person for the same term of years and at the Same Rate as was formerly agreed for.[2]

"*Resolved:* That those persons who have received such leases during the war and who have not assigned the same shall have it in their option either to receive new Leases for the remainder of their term at the expense of the Corporation or to receive a lease for the same length of time and at the same rate as those they now have at their own expense."[3]

Burials in Trinity churchyard had increased to such an extent, during the war, that new graves could with difficulty be dug, and in many cases interments had been made within only three feet of the surface of the earth. As this was a manifest menace to the health of the city, the Vestry passed a resolution, May 27, 1784:

[1] Zech. viii., 10–12. See Rivington's *Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1783.
[2] Records, liber i., folio 444.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 463.

"*Resolved:* That no Funerals be permitted in future in the Burying Ground of Trinity Church, except where families have used particular Burial Places therein for this some time past and except in the different vaults already built.

"*Resolved:* That the Sexton of Trinity Church deliver within six weeks to this Board a list of the different Vaults and also of the Burial Places used by particular families, and who wish still to retain them, in order that they may be registered and the families permitted to use them in future.

"*Ordered:* That the Sexton notify the Members of the Congregation of the above Resolution in order that they may inform him of the different Burial Places and Vaults. . . .

"That Mr. Duane inform the Corporation of this City of the present State of Trinity Church Burying Ground and of the intention of this Corporation with respect to it, and to request their approbation thereof." [1]

Six years later a resolution was passed still further restricting the use of the churchyards of Trinity and St. Paul's, by forbidding the indiscriminate burial of the negroes in them. In the future, only such of them as had been communicants were to have the privilege of interment in St. Paul's churchyard.[2]

The necessity of an engine-house being much felt at that time, the Vestry granted Mr. Elsworth, the Fire Engineer of the city, permission to build a house for a fire-engine on a portion of St. Paul's burying ground.[3] The place selected was in the north and west part of the ground on what is now the corner of Church and Vesey Streets. That site was occupied by a fire-engine-house until the year 1862, when the lease to the Columbian Fire-Engine Co., No. 14, expired, and the Vestry declined to grant a new lease, the entire front from Vesey Street to Fulton being needed for church purposes and the work at St. Paul's Chapel. A full account of the occupancy of the lot from 1784 until 1862, is given in the Year Book and

[1] Records, liber i., folio 447.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 529.

[3] *Ibid.*, folio 447.

Register of the Parish of Trinity Church for the year 1887, with an illustrated description of the building which now closes the ancient churchyard of St. Paul's upon the west.

Questions of finance occupied much of the attention of the Corporation during the year 1784. Action had previously been taken as to the support of the Rector and his assistants. It was ordered that the compensation to be allowed the clerk of the Parish, who was at the same time Master of the Charity School, be fixed at one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, together with five cords of oak and five of walnut wood, and a dwelling-house for himself and family. A table of fees allowable to be charged by the clerk of the Parish was drawn up:

"For attending a funeral when invited
Five shillings and sixpence.
For attending a marriage at a church or private house if asked
Six shillings and sixpence.
For Registering a marriage, two shillings.
For Publishing at Church, three shillings.
For a Certificate of the Publication, two shillings.
For Registering a Christening, two shillings and sixpence." [1]

The losses of the Parish, for some years prior to the close of the war, were heavy. From the minutes of June 8, 1784, it appears that a sum of upwards of £18,000 was then owing to the Corporation; and to this must be added the losses incurred by the destruction of the Parish Church, the Rector's house, the Charity School, and the fence of the burying-ground, in 1776. The only method by which money could be raised to meet the heavy strain of rebuilding and re-establishing their property, was to sell part of the real estate. Consequently it was resolved:

"That a number of lots of ground belonging to this Corporation situate to the Southward of Chambers Street, be forthwith sold at auction in 'ffee.'" [2]

[1] Records, liber i., folio 405. [2] *Ibid.*, folio 452.

The *New-York Packet and American Advertiser* of August 5, 1784, contains an advertisement of the sale of the lease of six lots on which are an excellent oil-mill and a small dwelling-house. The issue of the same paper for August 12th has a long advertisement of the sale by auction, of a number of lots.

"The greater part of the lots" are described as "elegantly situated and afford indisputably the most eligible situation for gentlemen's houses, of any in the City, being remote from the noise and bustle of the town, and having a spacious square in front."

The terms of payment were liberal: one third of the purchase money was to be paid within ten days, another third at the end of one year, and the remainder at the end of two years.

In 1787 another sale of lots was made: they are thus described:

"The streets on which most of the above lots are situated, are the widest and most regular of any in the city; being, according to the late regulations, from 58 to 90 feet each in width, perfectly straight, and nearly at right angles with the Broadway and Hudson River. The ascent from the river to the Broadway is more easy and gradual than in any other part of the town, and from the improvements making on the Water Lots, that part of the city will soon be a very eligible situation for every kind of business."[1]

In May, 1784, the Vestry were informed by Mr. James Desbrosses that his late uncle, Elias Desbrosses, had bequeathed one thousand pounds in trust to the Corporation. This amount was to be placed at interest by the Vestry for the maintenance of a French clergyman who should perform divine service, in New York, in the French language, and according to the "Liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established," and,

[1] *The Independent Journal*, May 30, 1787.

"In case any considerable time should elapse before it was possible to organize such a French congregation, then the interest arising from the sum bequeathed was to be added to the principal."[1]

Several years passed by, and the prospect of organizing a French congregation under the terms of the will of Mr. Desbrosses appeared to be so remote that the Corporation decided to ask to be relieved from the responsibility imposed by the trust. Accordingly, a petition was addressed to the Chancellor, August 8, 1791,

"praying to be discharged from the Trust reposed in this Corporation by the Will of Elias Desbrosses Esqr. deceased respecting a Legacy for the Benefit of the reformed French Church in the City of New York upon the contingency in the said Will mentioned."[2]

On January 13, 1794, a Committee was appointed to carry into effect the purpose of the above resolution,[3] and on December 12, 1796, Mr. Harison was appointed attorney to make application to the Chancellor for the same purpose.[4] On the 9th of January, 1797, Mr. Harison informed the Board that the Chancellor had ordered

"That the Trust monies should be accounted for and placed at interest upon real Security under the Direction of one of the Masters of the Court."[5]

On folios 76 and 77 the report of the Master in Chancery on the Trust monies held by the Corporation under the legacy of Elias Desbrosses is given in full. It shows that the Corporation originally received £1000 from the executors, but at this date, July 14, 1798, the total of principal and interest amounted to £185 88. 11.

In the former volume of this history mention was made of the French as forming an important element among the

[1] Records, liber i., folio 446.
[2] *Ibid.*, liber ii., folio 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 58.
[5] *Ibid.*, folio 59.

early settlers on Manhattan Island.[1] It appears that a French Protestant Church had existed for a considerable time in the city of New York. The congregation referred to had, however, diminished in numbers during the war and the cessation of immigration, and the Church was in a very depressed condition. In the year 1802, its Trustees conceived the idea of obtaining the money left under the Desbrosses will and decided to take steps to that end, and, as a necessary condition to success, to change their ecclesiastical status and adopt the form of worship of the Church of England. We find in the *Collections of the Huguenot Society* a reference to these proceedings:

"One of the trustees, after having explained to the congregation the unfavorable condition in which the Church found itself financially, said that under these unfortunate circumstances the trustees had resolved, after ample deliberation, to take the necessary measures to put the Church in possession of the legacy left to it by the late Elias Desbrosses of one thousand pounds; that in order to conform themselves to the will of the testator, they had further resolved that in the future the Anglican liturgy should be used in the service of this Church," etc.[2]

This was not the first case in which a French congregation had come over to the Church of England. In 1709, the Huguenot congregation at New Rochelle, as has already been stated in our history,[3] conformed to the Order and Discipline of our Communion. Following that precedent, the French congregation in this city was received into union with Trinity, and on the 30th of May, 1803, their edifice was consecrated by Bishop Moore under the corporate name of "The French Church du Saint Esprit." The sermon was preached by Mr. Hobart,

[1] *History of Trinity Church*, Part I., p. 8.
[2] *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America*, vol. i., p. 75.
[3] Part I., p. 173.

and on the following June 24th, Mr. Albert, the minister of the congregation, was ordained priest.

In the following July the French Church addressed a communication to the Vestry of Trinity Church, stating that Mr. Albert had been appointed Rector of their Church by the Bishop and that the services were conducted according to the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that they therefore claimed the legacy under the will of Elias Desbrosses.

The Vestry in return expressed their great pleasure and satisfaction at the receipt of the communication, but regretted to say that as the funds under the legacy had been placed out at interest by order of the Court of Chancery they could not pay the legacy over without a decree of the Court. As it would take some time to secure this they begged the acceptance by Mr. Albert and his Assistant, the Rev. Mr. Barry, of a donation of £100 each.[1]

Mr. Elias Desbrosses left another bequest to Trinity Church, the sum of five hundred pounds, for the clothing and education of "the poor children of Trinity Church School."[2]

About the same time another bequest was paid to the Treasurer, a gift of two hundred pounds from the estate of Margaret Todd, who left that sum for the charity school.[3]

The following extract from the minutes of May 27, 1784, bears evidence to the constant, generous, and sympathetic action of the Vestry in relation to its clergy:

"It being represented that Mrs. Barclay, the Relict of the late worthy and Reverend Doctor Barclay, Rector of Trinity Church, is in indigent

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 139.
[2] *Ibid.*, liber i., folio 446.
[3] See *New-York Packet and American Advertiser*, May 20, 1784.

circumstances, and this Corporation having a most lively Sense of Gratitude for Mr. Barclay's Services, and an Earnest desire to assist in making the remainder of the life of his widow comfortable, it is therefore

"*Resolved:* That the Rector, Mr. Duane and Mr. Willets be a special Committee to Enquire into Mrs. Barclay's real situation and circumstances and to report thereon to this Board." [1]

Upon a report by the Committee it was

"*Resolved* unanimously: That Mrs. Barclay the relict of the late Reverend and Worthy Dr. Henry Barclay, Rector of Trinity Church, be allowed one hundred pounds per annum to be paid in quarterly payments of twenty-five pounds each during her widowhood.

"*Resolved* unanimously: That the Salary commence from this day and that the first quarterly payment be advanced." [2]

Mrs. Barclay did not live long to enjoy her pension; she passed away on June 8, 1788.[3]

On the Wednesday following her death this notice appeared in the *Daily Advertiser:*

"Panegyrics on departed friends are generally said to be 'gilding their dust,' but the hearts of all who knew *Mrs. Barclay* will testify to her worth. From a long and intimate acquaintance with the precepts of Christianity, she fulfilled its duties with uniformity and zeal, the reward of which she is now reaping, while her children must deplore the loss of a most tender parent, the poor a chearful contributor, and all her acquaintances a pleasing friend."

Mr. Tucker, one of the Vestrymen, set an example which redounds much to his credit. Being a Presbyterian, he wrote to the Vestry saying that "he esteemed it improper in him to attend meetings" of the Corporation, and accordingly tendered his resignation.[4]

The question of providing a residence for the Rector came up for discussion in the Vestry December 2, 1784.

[1] Records, liber i., folio 446.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 450.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 505.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 461 (July 26, 1784).

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Stevens and Griffiths, was appointed to select a site and present a plan. Their report, made January 7th, was approved, and proposals for the erection of a house were published in the newspapers. An appropriation of two thousand pounds was made for the proposed house, and it was ordered that the contract should be given to "such person or persons as may make the most advantageous proposals."[1]

Their circumstances being straitened, the Corporation had to borrow money to complete the house.[2] A loan of twelve hundred pounds was authorized from the executors of the late Peter Jay; the executors with admirable judgment exacting the condition that the payment of the said twelve hundred pounds with legal interest was to be "in Gold and Silver, and not in any paper money although the same should be made by law a legal tender."

For the better despatch of business,

"The Board, considering the business of the Corporation which ought to be transacted by the Several Committees, of Accounts, Leases, Charity School, Pews and Repairs is frequently neglected on account of its being the business of every member, without any particular one being responsible for the neglect,

"Therefore Resolved: That a President be appointed to each Committee who shall take care of the business of the Committee, convene the members thereof whenever he may think proper, and be responsible for any neglect or inattention, either to the business referred to them or to that which properly belongs to their department."[3]

From that time the reports of the committees for each department appear on the record. Thus, for example, the Committee on Pews announce that they have allotted "proper seats for the Black, in St. Paul's Chapel, separate from the rest of the congregation."[4]

[1] Records, liber i., folio 468.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 479.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 474.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 480.

The Committee on Repairs report:

"That they had viewed the Cisterns on the roof of St. Paul's Chappel, agreeable to the directions of the Corporation, and that it was their opinion that they should be taken down and that the space where they now stand should be boarded or shingled in the same manner as the rest of the rooff." [1]

The same Committee were directed to view

"the south door of St. Paul's Chappel and report the practicability of shutting up the same, and making in lieu thereof a large elevated pew, with two smaller ones on each side similar to the Governor's and the two pews adjoining, so as to make both sides of the Church uniform. That they likewise report the practicability of converting the South West Window of the Church, into a door for the gallery staircase: of altering the pews in the South Gallery: of having an aisle through the midle of the same, with square pews on each side and of lathing and plastering the lower Belfry: and that they report thereon together with the expence that will be incurred thereby at the next meeting." [2]

And the same Committee on Repairs were further directed

"to have large Iron Stoves erected in each of the Churches and that they procure a painter to paint the Arms of the United States to be put up in St. Paul's Church."

And here we find a specimen of the aggrieved and sensitive church-attendant whose nerves are set on edge by the indifference of the congregation to his entrance and need of a seat. How perfectly does human nature keep in line with itself! That it was the same in 1784 that it is to-day is clear from a letter to the *New-York Packet*, which may bear transcription as a character study.

"Mr. Loudon,

You *will oblige a* Stranger, *who is a friend to humanity by inserting the following* Card *in your next paper:* C.

[1] Records, liber i., folio 473.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 480.

A CARD.

A FOREIGNER presents his most respectful compliments to the congregation of ST. PAUL'S, and begs leave to observe to them, that he must think, they are devoid of any manner of humanity or common politeness, when they can see genteel strangers come into their Church, and not endeavor to procure them a seat, but sit with mortifying indifference in their countenance. From his knowledge of the Continent, he is persuaded such unfriendly inattention cannot proceed from influence, as their neighboring city is possessed of good breeding and politeness.[1]

The Vestry on January 6, 1786, ordered that the money collected in Church on those days when the Holy Communion was administered should be added to the Communion Alms, and that the whole amount should be at the disposal of the Rector for the care of the poor.[2]

On the same day we find that

"The board considering that their fellow citizens of the two Presbyterian Congregations in this City have not convenient lotts of ground whereon to build dwelling houses for their respective senior pastors,

"Resolved that this Corporation will grant a good lot of ground to each of the Presbyterian Congregations in this City for the use of their respective senior pastors for the time being:

"Ordered: That the Committee on Leases do select two lotts of ground proper to be granted for the above purpose and that they report to the board the situation and dimensions of the lotts at a future meeting."[3]

On April 6, 1786, the Rector was requested to acquaint the Pastors of the Presbyterian Congregations with the intention of the Corporation to grant them Lots 255, 256, and 257 of the Church Estate and to request them to agree on the lots their Corporations will respectively hold so that deeds may be prepared accordingly.[4]

[1] *New-York Packet and American Advertiser*, July 22, 1784.
[2] Records, liber i., folio 481. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 482. [4] *Ibid.*, 484.

There was much trouble in securing the wherewithal to pay the salaries of the Assistant Ministers; the Vestry seem to have relied on personal subscriptions, to ensure the success of which plan of raising money they adopted a heroic measure, passing an ordinance that every member of the Vestry should sign the subscription paper before it went out.

"The board resumed the Consideration of the mode of soliciting subscriptions for the Assistant Ministers, when after some time spent in debates thereon,

"Resolved: That the members comprising the Corporation do first sign the subscription roll for the salaries of the Assistant Ministers and that it then be presented to the other members of the Congregation for signing

"Resolved: That if the said subscription after being compleated by the members of the Congregation shall not be so General and Effectual as to meet the Approbation of the Vestry that then the same be null and void.

"Resolved: That the members of the Congregation do meet on Monday next for the purpose of signing said subscription Roll."[1]

This resolution was passed on June 24th; but, alas for human expectations! the Rector reported some two months later that he laid the subscription roll for the salaries for the Assistant Ministers before the Board, as it had been returned to him by Mr. Alsop, who had been unable to procure any signatures to it in addition to those of the members of the Vestry![2]

Mention is continually made of St. Paul's during this period, because it had been used as the Parish Church while Trinity lay in ruins after its destruction by fire in September, 1776. The walls remained standing, but they were a constant menace to passers-by; and the Vestry, May 18, 1784,[3] directed the Committee on Repairs

[1] Records, liber i., folio 475.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 477.

[3] *Ibid.*, folio 445.

to engage workmen to pull down the remaining part of the tower.

The following account, a fair example of the newspaper English of that period, and one which might elicit the applause of the modern city editor, no doubt refers to the execution of this order. The New York correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Packet* thus finely expresses himself:

"NEW YORK, June 16.

"Yesterday morning about three o'clock, a large part of the ruins of that venerable and hallowed pile, Trinity Church, the sacred metropolitan of New York, fell down. The preceding day, a number of workmen had been employed to effect the means of bringing them to prostration, and they were greatly facilitated by an excellent miner from Cornwall, in old England. The condition of these walls had long been objects of terror to the inhabitants, who are as greatly relieved from the apprehension of danger, occasioned by the critical situation of these impending and awful remains, as they were terrified by the tremendous report produced from the shock given to Mother Earth; all pronouncing it a violent subterraneous concussion. Yesterday afternoon another part of the walls likewise fell down. It is said that the Church will with all convenient dispatch be rebuilt, as there is a very respectable fund for executing that righteous intention."[1]

Although the dangerous state of the ruins of the old Trinity Church compelled the Corporation to have the walls taken down, nothing was done in the erection of the new edifice for more than a year. The disorganized state of the finances of the Corporation, the heavy losses incurred owing to the war, the demands made on it on every side by those within and without its threshold, the contest in the Legislature, the exodus of the Loyalists who left the Church poorer not only in numbers but by the loss of a select band, ever given to acts of zeal, devotion, and generosity, the unavoidable struggle for the Rectorship between the friends of the old order and those of the new, and the

[1] *The Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser*, June 22, 1784.

separatist attitude assumed by the Loyalists who remained in the country,—these were chief among the determining causes which delayed the rebuilding of the ruined Church.

At last, at the close of the year 1785, the Corporation, taking a courageous initiative,

"Resolved, unanimously: That measures be forthwith taken for the rebuilding of Trinity Church.

"Resolved: That three commissioners be appointed to manage and superintend the work and that they propose a plan of the building and report the same to this board for approbation.

"Resolved: That subscriptions be solicited from the members of the Congregation for the above purpose.

"Resolved: That the Committee on Leases be directed to select those lotts of ground which are most proper, to be sold in case the subscriptions for the rebuilding of Trinity Church should not be adequate for the purpose."[1]

About this time a petition was sent to the Legislature, requesting that the name of the Corporation be changed to that of

"The Rector and inhabitants of the City of New York in communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York."[2]

The Clerk communicated to the Board, on March 26th following, that the Legislature had granted their petition and had passed an act changing the title of the Corporation as desired. The act was passed on the 10th of March, 1789.[3]

[1] Records, liber i., folio 481.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 502.

[3] Chap. 66 of the Laws of the State of New York, vol. ii., p. 180. Printed by Thomas Greenleaf, 1792.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TITLE TO THE KING'S FARM.

Resolution of the House of Assembly to Examine into the Title of the King's Farm —Report of Committee—Resolutions of the House Adverse to the Corporation of Trinity Church—Resolution of the Corporation—Letter of the Rector to the President of the Senate—Memorial and Remonstrance from the Vestry to House of Assembly—Presented to the Senate and Lower House—Report of Committee of House of Assembly on the Memorial—Vote of the House—"Some Remarks on the Memorial."

IN Part I., Chapter IX., of this History, a brief statement will be found relating to the attempts made from time to time to take possession of the property of the Corporation of Trinity Church in the City of New York, and of the failure of those attempts, whether originating in the State Legislature, or among individuals desirous of enriching themselves by plundering the Parish. I shall now proceed to relate in full the history of one of those efforts, made in 1784, at Albany, to seize upon the Church estate and apply it to public and secular uses. The reader should remember that the title to that estate was derived from the Crown of Great Britain; that nothing occurred during the Colonial period to cast any cloud upon it; that it remained unimpaired by the changes wrought by the Revolution; and that after the acknowledgment of the independence of the Colonies an Act was passed by the Legislature of New York, confirming all the titles acquired prior to that time during the Colonial period. Nevertheless an attempt was made to reverse this action in the case of Trinity Church; the history of which attempt, and of its failure, forms the subject of the present chapter.

The assault began by the passage of a resolution, November 23, 1784, in the Assembly appointing Messrs. P. W. Yates, Denning, Adgate, Goforth, and Pell a Committee to examine into the laws and records of the State of New York, concerning the right and title of the King's Farm and Garden.[1] Their report is set forth in full length in the Appendix.[2]

This report gives extracts from the various Acts relating to the Farm from 1699 to 1733, and ends with the following recommendation:

"From this State of facts, the said Committee reported,

"That it appears to them, that the right and title to the said lands, called the King's Farm and Garden, were by right, before the late revolution, vested in the King of Great Britain, and now belong to, and are by right vested in the people of this State."[3]

The report having been read and considered, the Speaker put the question, "whether the House did concur with the Committee in the said report; and it was carried in the affirmative, in the manner following."[4]

There were 33 votes in the affirmative, and only 6 in the negative, Messrs. Dunscomb, Livingston, Randall, Remsen, Corsen, and John Lawrance voting against the proposition.

Whereupon it was

"*Resolved*, that a Committee be appointed to consider of, and report the mode of Establishing the right of the people of this State to the lands aforesaid; and, that the Committee who reported the State of facts aforesaid, be a Committee for the purpose in this resolution mentioned."

On Feby. 17, 1785, the Committee reported:

"That it is the opinion of the said Committee, that a bill should be

[1] P. 66 of the *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, for 1784.
[2] Appendix VIII.
[3] P. 26 of the *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, for 1785.
[4] *Ibid.*

brought in, authorizing and requiring the Attorney General of the State, to proceed without delay in recovering possession of the said land, and establishing the claim of the people to the same, according to the laws of this State."[1]

Which report of the laws being read, the question as to whether the House should concur in the report was put to the House. For the affirmative there were 37 and for the negative 6—Messrs. J. Sands, Dunscomb, Livingston, Randall, Remsen, and John Lawrance constituting the minority.

The Committee were thereupon ordered to prepare and bring in a bill to give effect to the resolution:

These proceedings naturally alarmed the Corporation, who after due consideration of the action of the House of Assembly passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved:* That the minutes of the House of Assembly of the 7th instant relative to the title of the Church Estate be referred to a Committee, and that they be directed to prepare a Remonstrance to the Hon'ble the House of Assembly against the dangerous Precedent of the Legislative authority passing an opinion in cases of property, which by the Constitution of this State can only be cognizable in a court of Law and praying to Shew Cause why the same should not appear on their minutes.

"*Resolved:* That the said Committee prepare a Respectfull petition to be presented to the Hon'ble Senate, praying to be heard in Case the Resolutions of the House of Assembly of the 7th instant should be sent up for concurrence.

"*Resolved:* That it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider with deliberation the Resolution of the Assembly, and to prepare under the Authority of this Corporation such strictures on the same as they think best calculated to prevent the ill Consequences which may accrue from an attempt to prejudice the Public Judgement and that they publish the same in case the Resolutions of the Assembly should be permitted to remain on the Journals of that House.

"*Resolved:* That Mr. Duane, Mr. Duer, Mr. Stevens and Mr. Rutherfurd be the Committee for the above purpose."

[1] P. 41 of the *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, for 1785.

The Rector notified the President of the Senate of the intention of the Corporation to present their petition, in the following letter, preserved in the State Records at Albany.

"Sir,

"I have the honor to inform you at the wish of the Corporation of Trinity Church that they intend to present a petition to the Honorable House in which you preside between the Hours of ten and eleven o'clock next Monday Morning.

"I am Sir
"with the greatest Respect
"Your most obedient
"and very humble Servant
"SAM'L PROVOOST.

"February 18, 1785." [1]

The letter bears the following address:

"The Honorable
"ABRAHAM YATES Esqr.
"President of the Senate."

Owing to some delay the Vestry were unable to present their petition on the day named, and accordingly the Rector wrote making another appointment:

"Sir,

"From the absence of some of their members the Corporation of Trinity Church are obliged to postpone presenting their petition to the Senate until next Thursday Morning.

"I am Sir,
"with the greatest respect
"Your most obedient
"and very humble Servant
"SAM'L PROVOOST.

"February 21 1785." [2]

Addressed to:

"The Honorable ABRAHAM YATES Esqr.
"President of the Senate."

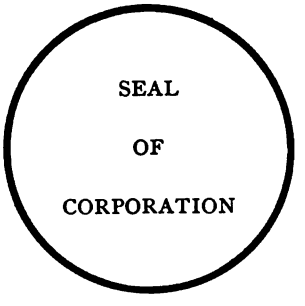
[1] Document 2412. [2] Document 2413.

According to the minutes of the Corporation, it was on February 26, 1785, that the Committee laid before the Vestry a draft of the proposed memorial and remonstrance to be presented to the House of Assembly; whereupon it was

"*Resolved:* That this Corporation do approve of the said Petition and Memorial and Remonstrance: that the Seal of the Corporation be affixed to them: that they be signed by the Clerk of this Board and be presented to the Hon'ble the Senate and the House of Assembly this day.

"*Resolved:* That copies of said Petition and Memorial be registered by the Clerk of this board." [1]

Thus it appears that the method adopted for their defence by the Vestry was the preparation of a petition to the Senate, a memorial to both Houses of Legislature, and a remonstrance to the Assembly. These three documents are referred to in the following extracts from the proceedings in the Vestry, the Senate, and the Assembly: their effect was satisfactory and brought the attack to an end. This is the text of the petition:



"To the Honorable
the Senate of the
State of New York
The Petition of the
Corporation of Trinity Church.[2]

"Respectfully Sheweth

"That your Petitioners find on the Journals of the House of Assembly of the seventh Instant a report of a Committee of that body concurred in by the House, in which after stating several circumstances relative to the title of the lands in the City and County of New York formerly called and known by the name of the King's farm and garden, it is declared that the title to the said lands, called the King's farm and garden, was by right before the Revolution, vested

[1] Records, liber i., folio 471.

[2] *State Records*, Albany. Document 244.

in the King of Great Britain and now belongs to, and is of right vested in the People of this State.

"Your Petitioners beg leave to observe, with all due deference to the Honorable body who have come to the determination, that they conceive this mode of enquiry into the right of property, is not warranted by the spirit of our happy Constitution, and that it tends to sap that grand bulwark of private right, the trial by Jury, which it is declared shall remain inviolate for ever.

"Your Petitioners though confident in the Stability of their claim to the lands in question, forbear to enter into a vindication of the same, before your Honorable House, who they are fully convinced will never destroy these barriers which the wise framers of the Constitution have raised betwixt the Legislative, Judicial and Executive branches of the Government.

"They content themselves with praying, that in case the report of the Honorable House of Assembly relative to the lands in question, or any law which may affect the right of the long established and respectable community, of which your Petitioners are the Trustees, should be brought into your Honorable House, due notice may be given to your Petitioners of the same, and they be permitted to be heard at the bar of your House, before any measure be taken on the premises.

"And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, etc.

"By order of the Corporation.

"JOHN RUTHERFURD, *Clk.*"

The official endorsement on the petition reads as follows:

"Petition of the Corporation of Trinity Church praying that in case a certain Resolution of the Hon. Assembly of the 7th inst respecting King's Farm and garden or any laws respecting the same should be sent for concurrence they may be permitted to be heard at the Bar of the Senate.

"In Senate Feby. 24th 1785 read and committed to a Committee of the whole."

The Petition and Memorial were presented to the Assembly on Feb. 25, 1785, by John Rutherford, and were referred to Messrs. Livingston, Vischer, Humfrey, and Burley.[1]

[1] P. 52, *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, for 1785.

This Petition can also be found in Loudon's *New-York Packet* for February 28, 1785; but in our transcript we have carefully followed the text of the original preserved at Albany.

We have not come across the original Memorial and therefore make our transcript from the reprint in Loudon's *New-York Packet* of the 28th February, 1785.

"To the Honorable THE REPRESENTATIVES of the PEOPLE of the STATE of NEW YORK, in Assembly convened.

(L. S.) The Memorial and Remonstrance of the CORPORATION of TRINITY CHURCH in the CITY of NEW YORK.

"*Respectfully Shew*,

"That your Memorialists on examining the Journals of your honorable body, find that a Committee was appointed on the twenty-second of November last, to examine the laws and records of the State, concerning certain lands in the City and County of New York, formerly called and known by the name of the King's Farm and Garden; which lands so called were in the year 1705 granted by Queen Anne, by letters patent under the great seal of the then colony of New York, to the rector and inhabitants of the City of New York, in Communion of the church of England; who have been in possession of the same from that period to the present day, and have regularly paid the quit rents reserved therein to the year 1768, as will appear by the indorsements on the said letters patent, signed by the different Receivers General of the King of Great Britain. That the said Committee on the seventh instant made a report to your honorable House, in which, after Stating certain circumstances, relative to the title to the lands called by the name of the King's Farm and Garden, they infer, 'that the title to the said lands called the King's Farm and Garden, was of right, before the revolution, vested in the King of Great Britain, and now belong to, and is of right, vested in the people of this State;' with which report your honorable House was pleased to concur.

"Your Memorialists, not only as Trustees of a respectable religious community, but as citizens, jealously attached to the principles of the late glorious revolution, are constrained with regret to observe; that they conceive the mode of the enquiry and the concurrence of your honorable Body, not warranted by the spirit of our happy institutions, whose wise framers have studiously separated the legislative, judicial,

and executive functions of government—that it tends by giving an undue influence on the public mind, to weaken and render inefficacious, the trial by jury, that grand bulwark of the rights and property of the subjects, which the voice of the constitution has declared shall remain inviolate forever. Notwithstanding the confidence which your Memorialists derive of the stability of their claim to the lands in question, from the opinion of the ablest law sages in Europe, as well as in this country, they wave entering into it before your honorable Body, from a respect to the principles of our free constitution, and that they may not involve you by such an enquiry, in that predicament so painful to the mind of a true patriot, of rendering himself at once the party and judge.

"In duty however to their constituents, they are bound to observe, that if the Committee appointed by your honorable Body, had thought proper to call on your Memorialists, for such evidence in the premises as they from their official character were best qualified to give, the conclusion drawn from such an investigation, would have been far different from that which at present appears in your journals.

"With that deferent boldness which freemen have a right to use to the representatives of a free people, your Memorialists beg leave to observe, that it is the right of the citizen to be heard in all cases which may affect his life, his liberty or property, in whatever mode such an enquiry may be conducted. They therefore trust, that an application for this purpose cannot be refused to a long Established Corporation, whose political weight and attachment to the present government, claim the public attention.

"In this confidence your Memorialists in behalf of themselves and those whose interests are committed to their charge, request that they may be permitted to shew cause at the bar of your honorable House, why the report of the Committee of the seventh instant, relative to the King's Farm and Garden, should not appear of record on your journal.

"By order of the Corporation,

"*John Rutherford*, Clerk."

The Remonstrance of the Corporation addressed to the Lower House is couched in much more forcible language. They refuse to appear before that House to vindicate their claims to the lands in question, and boldly call on the House to erase from its records the report of its Committee which called in question the report of the

Corporation to its legal ownership of the King's Farm and Garden.

On March 14th, the Committee, to whom had been referred the Memorial and Remonstrance of the Corporation of Trinity Church,

"requesting that they may be permitted to shew cause why the report of the Committee, of the 8th day of February last, relative to the King's-Farm, and King's-Garden, should not appear on record on the Journals of this House, reported, that it is the opinion of the Committee, that it would be improper to expunge a report agreed to and entered on the Journals; and that the request of the said Corporation cannot, consistent with the rules of this House, be granted."[1]

After debate, the House concurred with the Committee on a vote of 33 to 10, the ten being Messrs. J. Sands, Dunscomb, Livingston, Randall, Mersereau, C. Sands, Jeffrey Smith, John Lawrance, P. W. Yates, and Thomas.

This seems to have been the end of the matter, as there is nothing further of record. "Mr. Livingston," who voted steadily on behalf of the rights of the Corporation, was not the Warden of the Parish—but most probably the representative from New York, Peter Van Burgh Livingston. The Warden Robert R. Livingston was the Chancellor.

While the matter was pending before the House, a vituperative pamphlet was issued anonymously and without the imprint of any publisher or printer. It is now very rare, but there is a copy of it in the Library of the New York Historical Society. It is entitled "Some Remarks on the Memorial and Remonstrance of the Corporation of Trinity Church; addressed to the Honorable the Representatives of the People of the State of New York, in Assembly Convened.

"Humbly offered to the Public."

[1] P. 87, *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, for 1785.

This pamphlet takes the side of the opponents of the Corporation, and consists of abuse rather than of argument. In the latter part the writer goes off into a discussion and defence of the Bogardus claims, to which we shall call the attention of the reader in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BOGARDUS CLAIMANTS.

Brief Review of the Position of the Claimants—Their Petition to the Council for the Government of the Southern Part of New York State—Petition Rejected—Attempt to Intimidate Lessees—Formal Notice Issued by Trustees of Trinity Corporation—Counter-Statement of Claimants—Special Committee Appointed by Corporation—Notice Issued by Bogardus Heirs—Corporation Employ Counsel—Claimants Invade and Erect Fence on Church Lands — Protest of Claimants against Sale of Church Lands—Balthazer de Hart—His Discovery and its Effect—Summary by Mr. Nash—Discomfiture of the Claimants.

FROM the narrative of attacks on the title of the Church in the Legislature, the transition is direct to those made by private individuals. As may be conjectured, the change of government afforded a ready excuse to restless persons calling themselves heirs of Anneke Jans Bogardus to try conclusions afresh with the Corporation. Accordingly, as soon as the Revolutionary cause was triumphant, and had established a government of its own, the heirs petitioned for an allotment to them of the Church lands, claiming them as of right their own. And here the reader should be reminded of certain facts which must be kept in view in order to have an intelligent understanding of the position of the claimants.

I cannot do better than to present, before proceeding, the clear and able summary of Mr. Stephen P. Nash, who devoted a very long time to the study of the matter, and explored it to its inmost depths. He says:

"It is proposed now to show, not only that there never was any foundation in historical fact for the reckless charges of wrong doing made by the plaintiffs in actions against the Church, but that the children of Mrs. Bogardus parted with their title by actual sale and

conveyance to the English Governor, shortly after her death, and that if by reason of informalities in the transfer they ever had any right to redress, they had lost such right long before Trinity Church came into existence; that for more than *sixty* years after they sold the farm, *twenty-seven* of which was before Trinity Church was organized, they made no claim to the property, though occupying prominent positions in the Colony, and living within a mile of the "farm," and that their descendants never made any claim until after the death of all the family of Anneke Jans who were of the first generation, that is, of all who had knowledge of the facts. Whether the claims which were subsequently brought forward were at first made in good faith, based on obscure traditions, or whether they were instituted by unscrupulous conspirators, it is not necessary now to consider; but it is believed that the history of the controversy, so far as it can at this late date be investigated, will show that the title of Trinity Church to every parcel of its lands to which Anneke Jans Bogardus ever had any color of a prior claim is not only free from legal defect, but is free also, and has always been free from any equitable claim of her descendants, and that if any wrong was perpetrated when her children parted with the property, it was a wrong on the part of those who managed the transaction, against the others interested in the proceeds; *the fraud of some of the heirs upon* the others, antedating the existence of Trinity Church nearly forty years." [1]

The acts of "the Council Appointed for the Temporary Government of the Southern Parts of New York State," have disappeared. No trace of them has been found thus far, either in the City of New York or at Albany. We know, however, from an announcement in the *New-York Packet* of February 5, 1784, by the trustees appointed by that Council to hold the property of Trinity Church, that the Bogardus claimants had Petitioned the Council to acknowledge the validity of their claim, and that their petition had been rejected. Notwithstanding this adverse verdict they persisted in their determination to annoy the Church, and next tried to intimidate the holders of leases under the Corporation into not paying their rents, or into acknowl-

[1] *Anneke Jans Bogardus, her Farm, and how it Became the Property of Trinity Church, New York. An Historic Inquiry.* By Stephen P. Nash, LL.D. New York, 1896.

edging, in some way, the contention of the heirs. These intrigues were carried to such an extent that finally the Trustees felt called upon to make a formal protest, which they did on January 26, 1784.

"Whereas the honourable Council, appointed for the temporary government of this State, by an ordinance dated the twelfth of January instant, have vested the real and personal estate and property belonging to the Corporation of Trinity Church, in us the subscribers, for the reasons and purposes in the said ordinance expressed: And we have accepted and entered upon the execution of the said trust, and received the title deeds books and papers belonging to the said Corporation. And whereas complaint hath been made to us, that Messrs. Cornelius, Egbert, and Everardus Bogardus, Cornelius Cooper and Abraham Brower, senior and junior, are daily intriguing with and menacing and disturbing the tenants of lands belonging to the said Corporation, and which have been held under the said Corporation, and those from whom they derive their title, for near one hundred years, as was fully proved (as we are well informed) on a solemn trial in the supreme court of judicature, in the year 1762, by a special jury of respectable and disinterested citizens, who after a hearing of several days, gave a general verdict in favour of the said Corporation.

"And whereas the attempt of the said Cornelius Bogardus, and his associates, to avail themselves of the late confusions and of the ignorance or duplicity of the Tenants under the said Corporation, are as unjustifiable as the conduct of such of the said tenants as have been debauched by their artifices is culpable, and both have exposed themselves to the penalty of the law.

"The said parties find themselves called upon, in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them by the honourable Council, to give this public warning to all persons who hold by lease from the said Corporation, that it is required of them by law to continue faithful to their tenure under the said Corporation; and that if any of them shall combine with the said Bogardus and others, to transfer any possession from the said Corporation, the laws shall be rigorously put in force against them, to prevent similar frauds in future; at the same time such of the tenants as act with integrity, are assured, that they shall be effectually protected and defended in their estates; and that if they have been dispossessed by act or violence decisive measures will be pursued by us in a due course by law to restore them to their rights.

"To guard against misrepresentation, we think it proper to observe, that in a late petition of the said claimants to the Honourable Council, which was rejected, it is asserted, that they had failed in the before mentioned action by the mismanagement of Brower's advocates: But it is well known that the claimants had the aid of several of the most eminent Counsel in this country, on that trial; and after the trial were assured by them that the verdict was just! That if ever they had a right it was extinguished by the length of possession against them. And if dormant claims under patents so ancient (for that under which title was then and is now set up against the Corporators is dated so long ago as 1667) should prevail, no man could tell when he was secure of his estate. But if they are nevertheless determined to persist in their claims, the trustees are willing, without delay to meet them in a legal course of justice; a decision with which every good Citizen ought to be contented.

JAS. DUANE,
DAN. DUNSCOMB,
ANTH. LISPENARD,
ISAAC SEARS,
WM. DUER,
WILLIAM BEDLOW,
JOHN RUTHERFORD.
LEWIS MORRIS,
FRANCIS LEWIS.

NEW YORK, January 26, 1784."[1]

The Bogardus heirs, in the same issue of the *New-York Packet*, published their version of the matter, in a lengthy recapitulation of the history of their claim, ending as follows:

"And it is not doubted but the legislature, before whom the matters both of the claimants and trustees now stand, will do equal justice, howsoever grating it may be to the trustees; it being too much for them to expect, that any virtuous legislature will, in vesting in the trustees the laws of the Church give to them also the real and indisputable lands belonging to complainants.

"We are Sir,
"Your obedient Servants,
EGBERT BOGARDUS, for himself and CORNELIUS C. BOGARDUS;
ABRAHAM BROWER,
ABRAHAM BROWER, jun. for himself and CORNELIUS COOPER."

[1] *The New-York Packet and American Advertiser*, February 5, 1784.

On April 23, 1784, the Corporation were informed

"that a Mr. Bogardus and others lay claim to part of the Church lands and that a Controversy will probably Ensue."

Accordingly, a special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Duer, Sears, Stevens, Troup, and Rutherford, was appointed

"to superintend the affairs of the Corporation in such controversy, and to employ additional Counsel if necessary, and to give every proper Direction concerning the same." [1]

That the action of the Vestry in taking this step was not premature is proved by the following notice, which appeared within a few weeks, on the 20th of May.

"*Heirs.*

"The heirs and other representatives of Amie Bogardus, widow, deceased, are requested to attend at Cape's Tavern, on Saturday next, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, on business of high importance, relative to the Lands, called Dominie's Hook, in this City, which formerly belonged to her. New York, May 19, 1784." [2]

On the 3d of June, the Corporation decided to employ counsel to defend the interests of the Corporation against the Bogardus claimants.[3]

There is good reason to conjecture that these claimants were the real instigators of the action taken by the House of Assembly in the opening of the year 1785 in regard to the lands of Trinity Parish. The resolutions of the House, which cast doubts on the validity of the title of that Parish to the King's Farm, heartened them afresh, and their next proceeding was to raid upon the property of the Parish, and erect a fence upon the Church lands. This

[1] Records, liber i., folio 442.
[2] *The New-York Packet and American Advertiser*, May 20, 1784.
[3] Records, liber i., folio 450–452.

act having been brought to the notice of the Vestry at its meeting of June 28, 1785, they determined to place the matter immediately in the hands of their counsel,

"with orders that in case of any bad consequences it may appear that they have not been actuated by any motives of passion or interest but only in compliance of the direction of the Counsel." [1]

It was further resolved that in case the counsel should decide to remove the fence, every member of the Corporation, except the Rector and Wardens, was to be present to witness the removal.

The failure of the claimants to obtain legislative action to wrest the King's Farm and Garden from its lawful owners kept them quiet for a while. Another opportunity for annoyance was found when the Corporation were about to sell off a considerable number of lots; the Bogardus heirs came to the fore again, and issued a formal protest against the sale:

"To the *Public*

"WHEREAS, THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY CHURCH, have advertised for Sale, at the Merchants' Coffee House, on the first day of April next, a number of Lots of Land, situate in Chambers' Street, Read Street, and other places, within the bounds of DOMINIE'S HOOK PATENT, in the west ward of this city:

"The heirs of Annekie Bogardus, and those holding rights under them, in the said Patent, DO HEREBY GIVE NOTICE, that they are determined to support their claim to the Lands, within the grant formerly made to the said Annekie Bogardus. And this Notice is given, to prevent any person hereafter from pretending ignorance of the said claim; which the Heirs and those deriving title from them, are determined to support.

"New York March 31, 1788." [2]

And now we come to an event which seems to have brought this series of attacks to an end. On the Records

[1] Records, liber i., folio 447.

[2] *The Daily Advertiser*, March 31, 1788.

of May 1, 1788, mention is made of a gift to a Mr. De Hart:

"A piece of plate for Balthazer De Haert, Esquire, was produced to the Board with the following inscription

"'To
Balthazer De Hart Esquire
For his
Disinterested and upright Conduct
in communicating evidence
most important to them but which appeared contrary to his private Interest,
This Tankard was presented
by the Corporation of Trinity Church
in Testimony of Esteem, Gratitude, and Respect.'"[1]

The occasion for this presentation, and the nature of the services rendered by Mr. De Hart, are given by Mr. Stephen P. Nash in a lucid summary of the case:

"In the suit of Bogardus, the plaintiff sought to avoid the effect of all statutes of limitation by alleging that Trinity Church acquired its title under the deed to Lovelace, in which Cornelius Bogardus had not joined, that it held possession of the property not *adversely* to him, but as tenant in common with him, and that he was therefore entitled to an accounting for a share of the income which the church had secured from the property.

"The answer to the allegation was that the Church never entered under the deed to Lovelace, but entered under a grant from Queen Anne made thirty-five years later, which purported to grant the full title to the property, and that the possession of the Church under the grant had *always been exclusive*, and not in common with any other claimant or owner. In this action, the deed to Lovelace was for the first time produced as a basis of any claim upon the part of any of the descendants of Anneke Jans, and it was brought forward by Bogardus to show that his ancestor, Cornelius, had not joined in it. It was not produced in the early litigations. The family had either forgotten it, perhaps never knew of its existence, or, if they knew of it, kept silent

[1] Records, liber i., folio 506.

in respect to it. It seems to have been first discovered, so far as any one connected with Trinity Church is concerned, in 1785, when a Mr. De Hart, who was said to have been in the employment of Alexander Hamilton in his law office, found the deed in the course of antiquarian researches, and made it known to some persons connected with Trinity Church, who at once communicated it to parties urging the Bogardus claims by the following letter:

"NEW YORK, 2d December 1785.

"GENTLEMEN,

"We take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you the enclosed copy of the record of a Transfer to Governor Lovelace of Dominie's Hook, from the heirs of Annetje Bogardus, and to which, though afterwards granted by the government to Trinity Church, you now claim to have inherited from them. Time and long uninterrupted possession had, it seems, worn away the memory of the transfer, and the evidence of it would probably still have remained dormant, if Mr. De Hart (who is deeply interested in your claims) had not accidentally discovered this record, and from a regard to justice, which does him great honor, made it known."

Whether this Lovelace deed had the effect of convincing any of the aggressive "heirs" of Anneke Jans, who in 1784 and 1785 had been active in pressing their claims, that they had no equitable right to the property cannot be established, but it did appear from the testimony of Mr. Hammersley, in the Bogardus case, whose grandmother was one of the Bogardus heirs, that his father had occasionally advanced money to the Bogardus claimant to enable him to carry on the litigation, but that after the discovery of this Lovelace deed his father told Bogardus that a paper had been found which convinced him that the Bogarduses had no right to the property, referring, as he stated, to the paper found by Mr. De Hart, a gentleman in Mr. Hamilton's office.

It is a fact that no suit appears to have been commenced by the "heirs" against Trinity Church from the

time of the discovery of this deed in 1785 down to the Malcolm suit in 1807.[1]

The reader is now referred, for a review of the history of the title to the King's Farm and the litigation relating to it, to a monograph from the pen of Mr. Nash, at the request of the writer of this History. It is a paper of importance, and will be found in the Appendix.[2] The *Historic Inquiry*, from which quotations have already been made, is a much larger work; it grew out of the paper given in the Appendix, and forms an expansion thereof. For both these contributions to our annals the Parish is greatly indebted to their learned and able author.

[1] *Anneke Jans Bogardus*, etc. *Historic Inquiry*, by Stephen P. Nash, LL.D., pp. 72–74.

[2] Appendix IX.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

Convention of Clergy and Lay Delegates in 1784—Action of Trinity Vestry—Convention in New York, 1786—Convention in Philadelphia, 1786—Motions Relating to Bishop Seabury's Ordinations—Reasons for Provoost's Opposition to Seabury's Standing—Ordination by Bishop Seabury in New York, and by Bishop Provoost in Rhode Island—Election of Dr. Provoost to the See of New York—His Passage Monies Voted by the Corporation—Departure for England—Comments of the English Press—Provoost's Letter to His Wife—His Presentation to George III.—His Consecration—Letter from Dr. Inglis—Return to America—Bishop Provoost's Serious Illness—Reasons for Believing Bishop Provoost to have been First Consecrated Examined.

THE Corporation of Trinity Parish took an important part in the organization of the American Church. To find some common bond by which the Episcopal congregations should be held together in the several independent governments forming the confederation of the United States, was the desideratum: and, as is well known to the student of our history, the first step in that direction was taken in the month of May, 1784, by a few clergymen of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, who met at New Brunswick to renew a charitable society chartered before the Revolution for the relief of the widows and orphans of the Clergy. At that meeting, the state and prospects of the Episcopal congregations and the means of uniting them having been under discussion, it was decided to hold a larger meeting in New York for the further consideration of the subject. In October, 1784, such a meeting was held, to which eight of the States sent delegates. They agreed on several principles, of which the following were the most important:

"1. That there shall be a general convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

"2. That the members of the Episcopal Churches in each state should send deputies to that convention, consisting of Clergy & Laity.

"3. That the said Church maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the several States.

"4. That in every State where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled he shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Convention.

"5. That the Clergy and Laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in the body, but shall vote separately, and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure."

The Rector, at a meeting held May 13, 1785, laid before the Vestry the proceedings of the Convention of Clergy and lay deputies held in New York the autumn before; it was ordered that these proceedings be entered on the Register of Files, and the board adopted this resolution:

"Resolved. That the Corporation do approve of the recommendations and propositions of the Convention of Clergymen and lay deputies held in this City on the 6th and 7th of October last and that it be recommended to the members of the Episcopal Church within this State, That a meeting be held in this City on Wednesday the 22nd June next of all the Episcopal Clergymen within this State together with lay deputies from the several Episcopal Congregations in order to determine on some plan of organization and to appoint deputies to attend a general meeting of Clerical and lay deputies from the several Episcopal congregations within the United States at Philadelphia on the tuesday before the feast of St. Michael, next."[1]

Messrs. James Duane, John Alsop, and Marinus Willet were appointed delegates from Trinity Parish to this meeting. It was held June 22d, and the following persons were elected Clerical and lay deputies to the Convention to be held at Philadelphia in September:

[1] Records, liber i., folio 473.

The Rev. Samuel Provoost, the Rev. Abraham Beach, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, and Messrs. James Duane of New York, John Davis of Dutchess County, and Daniel Kissam of Long Island.[1]

The Convention assembled at Philadelphia in October of that year. Its proceedings having been made known to the Vestry, they passed a resolution requesting the Rector to recommend to the several congregations in the State of New York to appoint deputies to meet on the third Thursday in May next to take into consideration the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention, and to elect deputies to another Convention, to be held in Philadelphia on the third Tuesday in June following.

As delegates to this New York meeting the Rector and the Assistant Ministers were appointed to represent the Clergy, and Messrs. James Duane, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Morris, John Alsop, William Duer, and Paschal M. Smith to represent the laity.

A full account of the organization of the American Church is given by Bishop Perry in the second volume of his History. He discusses the opposition to the episcopal character of Bishop Seabury, in New York, as well as in other States, in the Old World as well as in the New, on the ground that it was derived from a source considered by many persons to be invalid and irregular. Among the opponents of Bishop Seabury was Dr. Provoost: the part taken by him in the controversy, on which Bishop Perry comments severely and with great warmth, will be regarded from diverse points of view. Fortunately, the Parish, as such, was in no way involved in the question; and I am not therefore required, as I am not disposed, to say anything on either side, as critic or judge, but shall limit myself to some extracts from the records of the

[1] Records, liber i., folio 475.

period, illustrative of Dr. Provoost's proceedings at the time when the matter referred to was before the Church. His opposition to the Bishop of Connecticut was shown at the General Convention in session at Philadelphia from June 20 to 26, 1786, when he made a motion, seconded by the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina,

"That this Convention will resolve to do no act that shall imply the validity of the ordinations made by Dr. Seabury."

The motion was lost, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina favoring it, while Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia voted in the negative. But in its place a resolution in the same general direction was carried unanimously:

"That it be recommended to this Church in the States here represented, not to receive to the pastoral charge, within their respective limits, clergymen professing Canonical subjection to any Bishop, in any State or Country, other than those Bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in this Convention."

This resolution, which implied a doubt of the validity or regularity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations, was followed by another, unanimously passed the following day:

"That it be recommended to the Convention of the Church represented in the General Convention, not to admit any person as a Minister within their respective limits, who shall receive ordination from any Bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English bishops for Episcopal Consecration."[1]

Bishop White, in his *Memoirs*, referring to Provoost's attitude toward Seabury, admits that it did not proceed from personal feeling:

"Bishop Provoost, although he did not appear to be possessed of personal ill-will to Bishop Seabury, was opposed to having anything to do with the Scotch succession, which he did not hesitate to pronounce irregular."[2]

[1] *Journals of General Conventions*, edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., vol. i., pp. 37, 38.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 163.

It must be remembered that Dr. Provoost was not alone in his view of the case. There was a very wide difference of opinion on the subject. The interference of the well-known and highly esteemed Granville Sharp, grandson of the Archbishop of York, and his letter inveighing against the legal and ecclesiastical standing of Bishop Seabury, had their influence, and caused many to hesitate, to commit themselves to an absolute expression of opinion in favor of the Scotch succession. Many devout Churchmen still attached importance to the sanction of the Crown to the consecration of bishops. The unanimous determination of the Convention of 1786, that no clergyman ordained by Bishop Seabury should be admitted within the limits of the dioceses there represented *pending the application* to the English bishops for episcopal consecration, also shows a belief on the part of the Convention that such action would be favorably received in England by the English bishops.

Add to this the non-recognition in England of the non-juror bishops, and the rumor that there had been in America, in the person of John Talbot, of Burlington, N. J., an actual non-juror Bishop,[1] who had not dared to use his episcopal office, and it will readily be seen that an episcopate claiming validity through a non-juring succession was not likely to commend itself to Churchmen in this country. It was not till 1789 that a positive declaration of the Convention affirming the validity of Seabury's consecration could be passed,[2] and thus the controversy was happily brought to an end.[3]

It was not strange that in the uncertain state of affairs

[1] See an interesting article in the *Church Eclectic* for December, 1900, on John Talbot, by the Rev. Joseph Hooper, M.A.

[2] Perry's reprint of the *Journal*, p. 71.

[3] See Appendix XV. for article on the "Intrusion" of Bishop Seabury and of Bishop Provoost.

at that time, things should have been done which naturally led to irritation of feeling and breaches of the peace between the brethren. A case in point was that of Bishop Seabury's crossing over into the State of New York in 1785, and ordaining, in a place where he had no canonical right to officiate, a candidate for Holy Orders from the State of Virginia. The ordination took place in St. George's Church, Hempstead, L. I. We read that,

"on Thursday last the 3d inst. Mr. JOHN LOWE, a gentleman from Virginia, received HOLY ORDERS from the hands of the Right Reverend SAMUEL SEABURY, Bishop of the Episcopal Protestant Church, at Hampstead on Long Island.

"As this was the first instance of an ordination of the Church which had ever taken place in this State, the solemnity of the occasion was almost beyond description — the excellent sermon delivered by the Bishop — the prayers and tears of himself, his Presbyters, and the numerous assembly, for the success of the gentleman in his ministry will be long had in remembrance by every spectator." [1]

This ordination caused no little annoyance in New York. Later we find the Bishop of Connecticut vigorously resenting a lesser act of intrusion on the part of his brother of New York. When, in 1795, at the request of the Clergy of Massachusetts, and after consultation with those of New York, Bishop Provoost after much hesitation ordained a minister for a congregation at Narragansett, which had placed itself under the care of the Church in Massachusetts, Bishop Seabury promptly protested against the act, claiming that the whole of the territory of Rhode Island was under his jurisdiction. On receiving Bishop Seabury's remonstrance, Bishop Provoost himself proposed the adoption of Canon VIII. of 1795 (to prevent a congregation in any Diocese or State to unite with a church in any other Diocese or State).

In the Convention held at Wilmington, in the autumn

[1] *The New-York Packet*, November 10, 1785.

of 1786, we find the New York delegation divided on the restoration of the words "He descended into Hell" in the Apostles' Creed; Dr. Provoost (who had received his Doctorate in Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania the previous July) and Mr. Duane voting "Aye," and Mr. Rutherford "No." Dr. Provoost was President of this Convention, and before the close of its session his letters testimonial for consecration as Bishop of New York were signed by its members.

The Convention of New York that elected Dr. Provoost was held in St. Paul's Church, Tuesday, June 13, 1786.[1] After the General Convention at Wilmington had ratified the election, the Vestry of Trinity Church passed the following resolution:

"The Rector having obtained the necessary recommendation for consecration from the State Convention lately held in this city, as also a similar one from the General Convention held at Wilmington, The sense of the Vestry was taken when it would be proper he should go to England for that purpose and they were unanimous of opinion that he should proceed in the next Packet."

On motion of Mr. Farquhar, it was

"Resolved, that the sum of one hundred and fifty English Guineas be advanced by the Treasurer to the Rector on account of his expenses."[2]

Dr. Provoost lost no time in making his preparations. He preached his farewell sermon, prior to his departure for England, on Sunday, October 29th.

"He delivered a most excellent discourse, very suitable to this occasion, upon the imperative duty of Christian love, from part of our Saviour's valedictory discourse to his Disciples, when taking his leave, and about to accomplish the great work of Human Redemption, namely, '*A new Commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another: as I have*

[1] See *The New-York Packet*, June 19, 1786.
[2] Records, liber i., folio 487.

loved you, that ye also love one another.' The animated and pathetic manner in which he addressed his audience, who, as well as himself, appeared to be greatly affected, will be long remembered by those who were present. He mentioned his expectations of being able to return to this Country in Eighteen Months."[1]

He sailed November 2d, in the company of his brother Bishop-elect, Dr. White.[2]

The packet-ship that conveyed them made the shortest passage then known, crossing the ocean in eighteen days. Landing at Falmouth, the Bishops-elect proceeded without delay to London. The *London Chronicle* announced their arrival in its issue of December 2d:

"The American Plenipotentiary presented the Rev. Dr. White of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Dr. Provoost, of New York, to his Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated Bishops for the United States. The Rev. Dr. Griffith is to be made a third to complete the government of the Episcopal Church in these States, much to the satisfaction of the laity there, who constantly opposed prelacy, until the States became independent Republics, like those of Switzerland, where even the Popish and Protestant Cantons preserve their religious systems without disturbing their civil federal union; nay, in some places, as in Germany, they worship under the same roof alternately. Such is the liberality of sentiments in this Enlightened age."

The London correspondent of *The New-York Journal and Weekly Register* reported under date of December 5th:

"The Rev. Dr. Provoost and Dr. White arrived here a few days ago and have taken lodgings in Parliament Street, where they are visited daily by persons of the first rank and respectability.

[1] *The New-York Packet*, November 2, 1786.

[2] That Dr. Provoost should have been supplied with funds for his journey by the Vestry seems to us a matter of course—and yet Dr. David Griffith, who had been elected Bishop of Virginia, was unable to cross the seas, his poverty preventing him, and the laity of Virginia not having furnished the means wherewith to defray his expenses.

"The American Ambassador accompanied them to the Archbishop's, by whom they were very politely received, and assured that they should receive Episcopal Consecration without any unnecessary delay. It is said that they intend to leave England in the February packet."

The gentlemen of the press anticipated events a hundred years ago much as they do now. The *Daily Advertiser* of April 10, 1787, copied the following extract from a London contemporary:

"January 18. By letters from America we are informed that Dr. Provoost, one of the newly consecrated Bishops, is the most dignified Clergyman in that Country, being Chaplain to Congress, and Rector of Trinity Church, New York, by far the most respectable living in the United States. This gentleman received his education at the University of Cambridge, was ordained in London about 20 years ago, and is esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his profession."

As a matter of fact, Dr. Provoost was not consecrated Bishop until the 4th of February.

In a genial letter to his wife, Dr. Provoost alludes to these premature announcements of his consecration, and to his reception by the notabilities in London.

"PARLIAMENT-STREET, LONDON,
January 3, 1787.

"MY DEAR MARIA:

"It is with real satisfaction that I enclose, for your perusal, a most affectionate letter from your brother, which I answered immediately, and consequently expect him in London in a few days. I was in hopes our business would have been completely finished before the sailing of this packet; and the not knowing how soon we might have been called upon by the Archbishop for consecration, kept me so constantly in London, that I have not yet paid a visit to my friends in Cambridge. We were introduced to the Bishops of London and Oxford a day or two after my writing to you, and the latter informed us that he had seen the Archbishop, who was perfectly satisfied with our testimonials. We dined lately with his Grace, and before we parted he told us that he waited for the coming of some more Bishops, to consult with them concerning the *mode* of our consecration. I regret this delay, but as they will certainly be in town before the Queen's birthday, which is the

18th, I still firmly believe that we shall be in time for the February packet.

"The only company we had at the Archbishop's was Dr. and Mrs. Lort, and Dr. Inglis. You remember spending an afternoon with Dr. Lort, when he was Greek professor at Cambridge. The Archbishop is very polite, but neither inquisitive nor communicative. Mrs. Moore appears to be a very amiable woman. Mrs. Lort, who was of Cambridge, and an acquaintance of Miss Donovan, made many polite inquiries concerning you and family. It is imagined that a Bishop will soon be appointed for Nova Scotia, but whether Dr. Inglis will be the man or not is yet uncertain. Let your daughter inform Miss Inglis that I dined last Sunday with her papa, mother, and sister at Mr. Duche's, in the Asylum. The sister is really pretty, and the brother one of the smartest boys for his years I ever met with. Mr. Duche and family could not have treated us with more kindness and attention if we had been the nearest relations.

"Apropos,— Mr. Duche has a daughter about the age of Maria, who had been a long time afflicted with nervous complaints, but she has received the greatest relief, and is now nearly cured, by the constant eating the dried leaves of hemlock upon her bread and butter. By the by, hemlock must be used with great precaution, and in a small quantity upon the first trials.

"My good friends Adair and Wilson are in very flourishing situations. Adair, besides his office of recorder, has a multiplicity of business as a lawyer. Wilson has been knighted, and since our arrival has been made a judge. His appointment has given universal satisfaction, as he owes it neither to situation or party, but, what is very uncommon here, entirely to his own merit.

"The widow of my dear old tutor, Jebb, has been very ill, and looks indeed like a widow.

"The old Bishop of Carlisle is still living, and though eighty-seven years of age, the Archbishop told me he saw him at the last meeting of Parliament going to make his dinner of a cold, fat goose-pie, too luscious for the stomach of his Grace.

"The Bishop of Llandaff is come to town, and paid us a very friendly visit yesterday morning. He was surprised our business was not concluded, and I am convinced will use his endeavors to accelerate it.

"The English papers have been premature in announcing our consecration. I expected we should have been the subject of frequent witticisms, but the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Herald*, is the only one I have met with :

"'The ordination of the two American Bishops is an event concerning which the universities have formed strange conjectures. These new Right Reverends will, in the American device, restore the primitive fathers, and distinguish themselves by stripes.'

"Mrs. Henry White has lost her husband and proposes returning to America. As you no doubt, often see my worthy friend, the Mayor, and communicate to him the intelligence I send to you, I don't trouble him with a letter.

"You will conclude from the annexed list of engagements, that I lead a desultory life, not quite congenial to my natural disposition. To-day, being Wednesday, at Mrs. Johnson's, aunt to Mr. Hopkinson, of Philadelphia; on Thursday, to Mrs. Robert Barclay; Friday, to Mr. Kemp; Saturday, to the Bishop of Llandaff; Sunday, to the Recorder; Monday, to Dr. Jackson, of Westminster; Tuesday, to Mr. D. Barclay.

"My paper being just filled, I must conclude with my sincere regards to my mother and brethren of every description, and love to the children.

"I remain, my dear Maria, with the most ardent wishes, for our speedy meeting,

"Your most affectionate husband,

"SAMUEL PROVOOST."[1]

Drs. Provoost and White were presented to George III., who gave them a kind and gracious reception.

The two Bishops were consecrated at Lambeth Palace, on Septuagesima Sunday, February 4, 1787. The Royal License required under the statute was given January 25th. The consecrators were: Dr. John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. William Markham, Archbishop of York; Dr. Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Dr. John Hinchcliff, Bishop of Peterborough.[2]

Diligent search has been made for the original certificate of consecration of the first Bishop of New York — but, like almost all of the papers and documents of Dr. Provoost, it has disappeared. In the Appendix, however, will be found certified copies of —

[1] Norton's *Life Bishop Provoost*, pp. 63–67.

[2] See *The Independent Journal*, April 11, 1787.

(i) The Act empowering the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consecrate to the office of a Bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions.

(ii) His Majesty's License.

(iii) Act of Consecration.

(iv) Certificate of Consecration of the Bishop of New York.[1]

These documents are attested by the Librarian, July 13, 1899, as true copies of the originals on file at Lambeth Palace Library.

Dr. Provoost's name, it will also be noticed, is spelled throughout "Provost," though he always signed himself at this period as "Provoost."

The London papers had the following respecting the title of the American Bishops:

"The American Bishops do not take the style and title of Lord or Lordship. According to their own request, they are directed to as Right Rev. Doctor, Bishop of &c. and addressed in the same style; neither have they submitted to the old hackneyed term Father in God. Episcopacy is admitted in America, but it is simplified according to the original intention as much as possible."[2]

The two Bishops made no stay in London after their consecration, but left that city for Falmouth on the evening of the following day.

Dr. Inglis, in order that he might have the pleasure of their company, sent the following note to Dr. Provoost:

"Monday Morning,
"February 5, 1787.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I do assure you I was not a little mortified in being prevented by my lameness from attending at your consecration, and that of Dr. White, yesterday; and from congratulating you both on the occasion,

[1] Appendix X.

[2] See *The New-York Packet*, June 22, 1787.

which I now do most sincerely, and fervently pray that the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church may direct and prosper the endeavours of you both for the promoting of true religion, and the support of our depressed Church in America.

"It was my full intention to have called on you this morning with my two children, that you might see them, and give an account of them to their sister at New York; but my ankle still continues to be so much swelled and inflamed that I cannot possibly stir out. My little boy, John, was in town, and I send him with this as the representative of the whole. The several letters from my children and myself to our friends in New York, I have put under one cover, directed to Mr. Ellison, as it will lessen your trouble.

"You will not, I presume, set out for Falmouth till after dinner; suppose then that you and Dr. White were to come and take a family dinner with me. You may have it at any hour you choose. It will be extremely pleasing to me, and I could mention some particulars which I wish to communicate, and have not time to write down. But if hurry should prevent this give my love to Dr. White. I sincerely wish you and him a safe voyage, and a speedy sight of your friends. Give my best compliments to Mrs. Provoost, and my good old friends at New York whom I often think of with affection and esteem; not excepting even those, in whose conduct there might have been some appearance of unkindness.

"Sincerely wishing you health and happiness, I am most affectionately yours, "CHARLES INGLIS."

"Right Reverend Dr. PROVOOST."[1]

The Bishops set out that evening for Falmouth, which they reached on Wednesday, but, owing to contrary winds, the packet, *Prince William Henry*, did not sail till the 15th. Fifty days afterwards they landed at New York, on Easter-day, April 8th.

Bishop Provoost suffered much during the voyage, and after his arrival in New York he was so ill that for some days his life was despaired of. On the 18th, the *New-York Independent Journal* was able to announce that the Bishop was out of danger.

It has been long disputed which of the two Bishops,

[1] Norton's *Life*, pp. 72–74.

Provoost or White, was consecrated first. It seems impossible to decide this question in the face of conflicting testimony; it has no practical importance now, as in the official list, showing the succession of Bishops in the American Church, Bishop White's name stands before that of Bishop Provoost. Mr. Cadwalader D. Colden, the son-in-law of Bishop Provoost, makes the following statement on the subject, on the authority of the Bishop himself, in his short memoir on the life of his father-in law:

"I will here mention a fact I learned from Bishop Provoost. I have heard him say that when the ceremony of consecration was about to be performed a question arose as to which of the candidates was entitled to precedence, and it having been ascertained that Dr. Provoost was the senior in the ministry, he was first consecrated, and thus became the first duly consecrated American Bishop, or the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop then acknowledged of the Church of England in the United States.[1]

Per contra, the Right Rev. Dr. Smith, late Bishop of Kentucky, asserted that he had been informed by Bishop White that he had been consecrated first, owing to his seniority as Doctor of Divinity, that being, in his opinion, the English rule for determining seniority when two or more men were consecrated at the same time.[2]

Bishop Perry, in his History, takes up this question and discusses it; other writers have gone into it at length, among them Dr. John W. Francis. A careful perusal of Bishop White's *Memoirs* throws no light on the subject; nor can anything be determined from the presidency of the Bishops in their House during the early days of the American Church.[3]

[1] *Evergreen*, vol. i., p. 197.

[2] See Bishop Smith's letter, dated October 23, 1861, Perry's *History of the American Church*, vol. ii., p. 74.

[3] At the Conventions in July and August, 1789, Bishop White presided, being the only Bishop present. At the meeting of the House of Bishops, on October 5th, 1789, Dr. Seabury presided, owing to the rule then passed that "The senior Bishop shall

the possession of Cadwalader L. Colden, his son-in-law, but no trace of them can be found, though enquiry has been made of every known descendant of the Bishop. In the Memoir of Bishop Provoost, *Evergreen*, vol. i., the statement is made that a part of his library passed into the possession of the New York Historical Society; but that society has no record of ever having received so much as a single volume. Miss Grace Wilkes, of this city, has in her possession the Bishop's loving-cup and part of his silver, and to her and to the late lamented and beloved Miss Anne Wilkes the writer is personally indebted for the gift of several books, each containing his bookplate and autograph. What has become of the rest of his library, no one seems to know; the volumes are probably scattered here and there among the book-loving brotherhood, and treasured as they ought to be. About forty years ago the Rev. John N. Norton wrote a Life of Bishop Provoost. He alludes to letters of the Bishop's, which he says that he had before him while writing; but his widow states that her husband returned them to the lenders, with all the MSS. and papers confided to him, after having made such use of them as he found advisable: and so they have likewise vanished.

The Bishop's eldest daughter, Susanna Elizabeth, married George Rapelje, who died in 1835 without issue. She then married Julien Xavier Chabert, who had been one of Napoleon's soldiers, was in several of his campaigns, including the disastrous retreat from Moscow, and was decorated with the St. Helena medal. He emigrated to this country, practised medicine on the corner of Pearl Street and Broadway, and upon the death of George Rapelje married his widow. Two of his children, Dr. Romeo F. Chabert and Mrs. Adelaide Des Noyers, are now residing in the vicinity of New York.

Mrs. Des Noyers distinctly remembers that at the death of Mrs. Chabert her father had all the old books and papers belonging to the Provoost family laid on the floor of the attic, and that the Bishop's son, Benjamin Bousfield Provoost came and selected such portions as he desired. What became of the rest she does not know, though she had until within a year or two a few volumes of the Bishop's library, bearing his bookplate, still in her possession. Dr. Romeo F. Chabert has also a few such volumes in his possession. General James Grant Wilson is also the possessor of a few of the Bishop's books.[1]

The disappearance of the Bishop's library is to be regretted the more, because of his love of books and his liberal culture. Writing of him, General James Grant Wilson says:

"At East Camp, as his rural retreat was called, the patriot preacher occupied himself with literary pursuits, and with the cultivation of his farm and garden. He was an ardent disciple of the Swedish Linnæus, and he possessed, for that period, a large and valuable library. Provoost was perhaps the earliest of American bibliophiles. Among his beloved books were several magnificent Baskervilles, numerous volumes of sermons, and the writings of English bishops, including the scarce octavo edition of the poems of the eccentric Richard Corbet, of whom Provoost related many amusing anecdotes; a rare Venetian illustrated *Dante* of 1547; Rapin's *England* in five noble folios; a collection of *Americana* and *Elzeviriana*, and not a few *incunabula*, including a Sweynheym and Pannartz imprint of 1470. These were chiefly purchased while a student at Cambridge and contained his armorial bookplate with his name engraved, Samuel Provoost. It was not until 1769 that he adopted the additional letter which appears in his later bookplate and signatures. . . . Among his literary recreations was the translation of favorite hymns in Latin, French, German, and Italian; also the preparation of an exhaustive index to the *Historia Plantarum* of John Baushin, whom he styles "the prince of botanists." . . . He translated Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," for which congenial work he found ample leisure on the Dutchess County Farm. It was

[1] See Appendix XI.

never given to the world, nor any of his occasional poems in English, French, & German, of which examples are in the writer's possession."[1]

The Bishop's bookplate is well known to collectors. I am so fortunate as to possess a volume with his father's bookplate, and the name John Provoost; another with his own, and the name "Saml. Provost Esq., Coll Pet. Cant."; and a third, in the last state, having the Provoost arms impaled with those of the Bousfields (as I suppose), surmounted by a mitre, and having the name Saml. Provoost. All these are finely engraved in styles appropriate to the periods. His diocesan seal bore his armorial quarterings with the legend, "SAM'L PROVOOST D.D. BISHOP P.E.C. IN THE STATE OF N— YORK 1787."

And here it is in order to refer to the differences in spelling his name. At Cambridge and up to the year 1769 it appears to have been uniformly written "Provost"; afterwards he usually signed "Provoost," though there are instances of his signing himself "Provost," so late as 1786.[2]

In public documents of his day, the name is variously spelled — either "Provost" or "Provoost." In the Royal Licence, and consequently in all the consecration papers, the name throughout is Provost. Even in the Trinity Records, the spelling seems to have been according to the fancy of the clerk of the Vestry. So late as in the years 1796 to 1798 it is uniformly spelled Provost.

As far as can be ascertained, the New York custom of spelling the name seems to have been "Provoost," for we have found the name so spelled when not borne by relatives of the Bishop. For example, among the State Documents at Albany there is, curiously enough, a petition

[1] *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, pp. 129, 130, 139.

[2] See lithographic copy of autograph letter in *Facsimiles of Church Documents*: Papers issued by the Historical Club of the American Church 1874-79. (Document 36.)

IOHN PROVOOST

Sam: Provoost Esq. Coll: Pet: Cant.

from one "Samuel Provoost," a prisoner for debt. The signature is that of a well-educated man. The petitioner states that he incurred heavy expenses in the late war, by generously contributing to it, and therefore is now so reduced that he cannot pay his debts, that he has a wife and two children, and is himself greatly advanced in age. From the sheriff's report, it appears that this debt, for which he had been so long imprisoned, was £9, and the endorsement on the petition is, "This is a good man." [1]

The change of signature on the Bishop's part seems to have been caused by a desire to return to the original New Amsterdam or New York spelling of his name.

In the old Register of the Reformed Dutch Church the name is uniformly spelled "Provoost," and in the record of his baptism the name is thus written.

The first Convention of the Diocese of New York was held in June, 1787, in St. Paul's Chapel. Seventeen parishes were represented by six clergy and twenty-three lay delegates. The Secretary, Dr. Beach, in behalf of the Convention, made the following address:

"RIGHT REVEREND SIR:

"We the clergy and laity, representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, now assembled in Convention, beg leave to address you, on this solemn occasion, with sentiments of duty and unfeigned respect.

"After having successfully accomplished the great object which you had in view, we congratulate you on your return to your native city, safe from the hazards of a long and tempestuous voyage, and in a great measure restored to health from a painful and dangerous illness.

"While we express, in terms of the warmest gratitude, the high obligations we are under to the English Bishops for their paternal interposition in our favor, we beg leave to present to you our hearty thanks for your compliance with our desires; and thus, through many difficulties and sufferings, rendering our Church complete in all its parts.

"This propitious event, so long and ardently wished for, forms an important era in the history of our Church. We are now, by Divine

[1] Document 2, 1619 and 1665, *State Papers*, Albany.

Providence, placed in such a situation that a regular succession of the ministry may be continued to us and our posterity, without being reduced to the necessity of applying to a distant land.

"Justly reposing the highest confidence in your integrity, and piety, your love of peace and order, and in your unremitted endeavours for the advancement of true religion and virtue, we rejoice that the distinguished honor of filling one of the first Episcopal chairs in these United States hath been conferred on a character so truly estimable; and we trust that we, and those whom we represent, shall never fail to render you all due support, respect, and reverence.

"May it graciously please the Almighty Ruler of the Universe so to bless your ministrations, that a firm foundation may be laid for the peace and prosperity of our Church, which shall remain unshaken to the latest ages. And may you, Right Reverend Sir, long continue in the discharge of your sacred office, an example for our imitation, and an ornament to our holy religion; and may we, and all those committed to your pastoral charge, derive from your ministrations a benefit which will be of everlasting duration: so that when we are called to account for our actions, we may give an account with joy; and remain one flock, under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ, the Bishop of our Souls."

The Bishop replied:

"REVEREND AND MOST DEARLY BELOVED:

"This affectionate address, your obliging congratulations on my return to my native city, and on the recovery of my health, and above all, your assurance of support in my ministrations, I receive with the utmost satisfaction and thankfulness.

"The object in my late mission being the independence of our Church, and a regular succession of the ministry, was of such magnitude, that its happy accomplishment cannot fail of inspiring all its members with the highest gratitude to Almighty God, and to all who, under Him, have by their good offices contributed to its success.

"To the English Bishops, particularly, we are under indelible obligation, and I cordially unite with you in a public testimony of their benevolent and paternal exertions in our favor. Whenever we shall reflect on this important Era in the history of our Church, they must be remembered with honor and reverence.

"Let us, my beloved friends, zealously strive to make due improvement of the spiritual privileges which we now enjoy. Let our faith be sincere, and our lives unblemished, as our doctrine and worship are

pure and holy, and God will continue to shower down His blessings upon us and our Church with a bountiful hand.

"May you, my Reverend Brethren, aided by His gracious Spirit, continue to be watchful Shepherds of the flocks committed to your charge, and maintain the doctrines and discipline of this excellent Church with constancy and zeal, and at the same time with candor towards those who differ from us in religious opinions, that our moderation may be made manifest, and we may joyfully contribute to that peace and love, and charity which are so strongly enforced in the Gospel of our blessed Redeemer.

"Deeply sensible of my own imperfections, I feel with solicitude the weight of the important office to which I am consecrated. I rely only on the grace of God to enable me to discharge my pastoral duties with fidelity, to be instrumental in promoting true religion and virtue, in governing this Church in peace and unanimity, and laying a sure foundation for its lasting prosperity; that thus, through His Divine protection, your expectation of my usefulness may not be disappointed.

"And now, unto God's gracious mercy and protection I commit you!

"The Lord bless you and keep you! The Lord make His face to shine upon you! The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace, both now and evermore!"[1]

In his Life of Bishop Provoost, Mr. Norton states that the first ordination held by the Bishop was on October 17, 1787, when two candidates were advanced to the order of Deacons. This is an error. The *Daily Advertiser* of July 17, 1787, gives the following account of an ordination, presumably the first ordination by Bishop Provoost, as it is the first one noticed by the press:

"On Sunday last,[2] in St. George's Chapel, in this city, Mr. Richard C. Moore and Mr. Joseph G. J. Bend were ordained Deacons of the Episcopal Church, by the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost D.D. Bishop of said Church in this State. These gentlemen, according to the usage of the Church, are ordained Deacons, with special permission to preach; and it is requisite they should continue Deacons for some time, previous to their admission into the order of Priesthood.

[1] Norton's *Life*, pp. 75–79.

[2] That would have been July 15th, the *Advertiser* being published on the Tuesday of each week.

"The Chapel was unusually crowded, the ceremonies of Episcopal ordination being novel in America. The solemnity of the occasion, the great good conduct which was observed through every part of it, and an excellent Sermon, adapted to the present time delivered by the Rev. Benjamin Moore, with an admired diction and eloquence peculiar to him, made a pleasing impression on the audience.

"We cannot, on this occasion, but with pleasure reflect that the *Protestant Episcopal* Church, in these States is *now* perfectly organized, and in the full enjoyment of *each* Spiritual privilege (in common with other denominations) requisite to its preservation and prosperity."

The *Independent Journal* of October 20, 1787, records an ordination to the Diaconate the previous Thursday, the 18th; this must be the one referred to by Mr. Norton. The *Protestant Churchman* of January, 1856, gives a full account of the same ordination, as related by one who witnessed the scene:

"Columbia College was closed for the day. The President, Professors, and Students all attended at St. Paul's; and this, with the occasion, attracted a numerous audience. Here and there were to be seen venerable gentlemen in their large powdered wigs, and with their gold-headed canes—such as the Rev. Dr. Livingston, Rev. Dr. Rodgers, Rev. Dr. Kunze, and other non-Episcopal clergymen of the city, who had been invited by the Rev. Dr. Beach, and were all personal friends of the Bishop. His early ancestors were French Protestants, who had fled from France after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in the year 1572. The Bishop was himself a native of this city, and was baptized in the Dutch Church in the Dutch language.

"In his Canonicals he read the Morning Prayer, and then left the reading-desk for an arm-chair within the railing of the chancel, and the Rev. George Wright ascended the pulpit. This divine was a native of Ireland, educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and, having been admitted into the ministry, came out to this Country.

"He was now Rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn; and he took for his text, 'Beloved, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.' He expatiated on the origin and design of the Christian Ministry, on the preached word, the right administration of the Sacraments, and the succession of the ministry from the Apostles' time to the present, as

constituting the only true Church. He admitted that sects had sprung up, but denied their validity; comparing them to the man who would convey an estate to another, when no title was vested in himself.

"This boldness on the part of Mr. Wright made the Bishop restless and uneasy, lest Dr. Beach's invited clergy should take offence; but fortunately no notice was taken, except by Dr. Rodgers, who enquired of Dr. Beach, whether Mr. Wright was aware that Bishop Provoost had been baptized by Domine Du Bois."

On the Sunday following, October 21st, the Deacons, Messrs. Richard Channing Moore and Joseph G. J. Bend, who had been ordained in July were advanced to the Priesthood in St. George's Chapel. They were thus not only the first Deacons, but also the first Priests ordained in this State through the English succession.

A few words may be added, relating to their subsequent history.

Joseph Grove John Bend was born about 1762. After his ordination, he was elected Assistant Minister to Bishop White at Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. In 1791 he was elected Rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, which position he held till his death in 1812. He was one of the founders of the Baltimore Library and the Baltimore General Dispensary. During his Rectorship he was also continuously Delegate to the General Convention, member of the Standing Committee, and Secretary of the Diocesan Convention. He was the leader of the High Church party both in the Diocesan and the General Convention. In his parish he was an indefatigable and systematic visitor, and his Church was noted for its number of week-day services.

Richard Channing Moore was born in 1762. He studied for the ministry under Dr. Provoost, and spent the first two years of his ministry at Rye. In 1789 he became Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Richmond, Staten Island, where he remained for twenty-one years. In 1809

he took charge of St. Stephen's Church, New York, and retained it till 1814, when he was elected to the Rectorship of the Monumental Church, Richmond, and to the Bishopric of Virginia, to which see he was consecrated on May 18, 1814. He died November 11, 1841. It has been said, referring to Bishop Moore, that

"The Episcopal Church was nearly prostrate in Virginia before his day. Her sacred Edifices were in ruins, and there were few to minister at her altars. No wonder that, under the preaching and example of such a Prelate, her condition should have been changed. No wonder that her altars should once more be rebuilt, and songs of praise again resound in Edifices reared by the worshippers of olden times."[1]

Dr. Moore found five clergy on his arrival in his diocese; he left, at his death, one hundred.

In the *Gospel Messenger* for 1855 there is a vivid description, from the pen of Bishop De Lancey, of the first confirmation held by Bishop Provoost.

"In a recent Episcopal tour in Courtland County, in this Diocese, I met, at the house of her son, Dr. R. C. Owen, the warden of Calvary Church, Homer, Mrs. Mary Owen, the widow of Dr. J. Owen, a native of the city of New York, born in 1774, whose maiden name was Mary Bell. She gave me an account, as an eye-witness, of the administration of the holy rite. She was then about 14 years of age.

"His first Confirmation was held in St. Paul's Chapel—Trinity Church was then in ashes. More than three hundred persons were confirmed. The candidates occupied the body of the Church below; the congregation were in the galleries. The Bishop addressed the candidates from the pulpit before Confirmation. Many aged persons were confirmed, some of them more than ninety years of age. She distinctly recollects two aged ladies led up to the altar by their coloured servants who stood aside till the rite was performed, and then led their mistresses back to their pews. The Bishop was in his Episcopal robes. She (Mary Bell) viewed the ceremony from the gallery.

"Among the clergy present, she recollects the Rev. Benjamin Moore, the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, and the Rev. Mr. Pilmore (Pilbury she thought his name was). She does not distinctly remember

[1] The Hon. John Tyler in *Sprague's Annals*, vol. v., p. 372.

the year, month, or day, but says it was in warm weather, and not on Sunday, and, she thinks, in the same year in which the Bishop arrived from England." [1]

In the early years of the American Episcopate the confirmations were naturally very large. At St. George's, Hempstead, on October 31, 1787, 157 persons were confirmed. Whenever an ordination was to be held, such great crowds assembled that, as we learn from Bishop White, the Bishops made it a rule never, if possible, to ordain on Sundays, but on some Holy Day during the week.

From the *Daily Advertiser* of July 15, 1788, we learn that on July 13th, George H. Spieren of Perth Amboy and James Morris of Virginia, were ordained Priests in St. Paul's Chapel.

A few days before, on the 9th, the first ordination in the State of New Jersey was held by Bishop Provoost, when the same Mr. Spieren had been ordained Deacon.

On Thursday, the 4th of November, 1788, the Diocesan Convention was held in New York. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Joshua Bloomer, who had been a fellow classmate of Provoost at King's College. The Convention sat for three days, and appointed delegates to the General Convention which was to be held in Philadelphia in the July following. The chronicler of this gathering remarks:

"It must afford satisfaction to the friends of Christianity in general, and to every Episcopalian in particular, to be informed that under the Superintending care of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Provost, Bishop of this State, true religion is daily advanced, and more completely established in every part of this extensive diocese." [2]

Prior to the meeting of the Diocesan Convention,

[1] *Gospel Messenger*, xxix., 170, November 9, 1855.
[2] *New-York Journal*, November 27, 1788.

there had been a meeting of the Corporation of the Parish on October 27th, when the following resolution was moved by Mr. Richard Harison:

"Resolved, as the sense of this Board, that the union of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is of great importance, and ardently to be desired; and that the delegates appointed to represent the Church of New York in the ensuing State Convention be instructed to promote the same by every prudent measure consistent with the Constitution of the Church, and the respect due to the General Convention."[1]

After considerable discussion, and counter-motions, the above motion was agreed to.

The motion had in view the incorporation of that part of the Church which was under the jurisdiction of Dr. Seabury. Bishop Provoost, being of the opinion that the resolution did not specifically safeguard the right of the laity in General Convention, dissented and requested that his dissent be entered on the minutes. That this was the ground of Dr. Provoost's objection is evident from the long discussion by the Vestry on the following October upon the presence of the laity in General Convention.

Bishop Seabury and his followers were known to be hostile to the admission of the laity to the Councils of the Church. Accordingly, when, on October 19, 1789, the usual notification from the Rev. Dr. Moore, Secretary to the Diocesan Convention, was read before the Board requesting it to choose delegates to the Convention that was to meet in November, Mr. Jay, after the election of the delegates, moved the adoption of the following resolution:

"That the delegates now chosen to represent this congregation at the next Convention be, and they hereby are, instructed not to assent to, but, on the contrary, to oppose every proposed constitution for the American Episcopal Church, and every proposed alteration in the one

[1] Records, liber i., folio 513.

of 1786, that shall not give to the laity Equal powers with the clergy in the making of all acts, laws, and regulations binding on the Church."

Mr. Harison moved, as an amendment, that all the latter part of the resolution from the words "not give," inclusive, to the end be obliterated, and the words, "Give to the clergy a power to bind the laity without their consent," be inserted therefor.

Upon motion of Mr. Hamersley it was ordered that the further consideration of the said resolution and amendment be postponed.[1]

At a meeting held seven days after, Mr. Warner proposed a resolution:

"That the delegates to the State Convention be, and they are hereby instructed to agree to, and adopt the constitution proposed by the general Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, lately held at Philadelphia, and any further measures that may have a tendency to cement the union which has taken place in the said Church."

Messrs. Jay, Duane, Bleecker, Randall, Hamersley, Jones, Carmer, Lewis, Ogsbury, Dominick, Warner, Laight, Ropes, and Harison voted in the affirmative.

In the correspondence between Dr. Provoost and Dr. White on the question of the admission of the Connecticut and Eastern Churches to the General Convention, Dr. Provoost is outspoken in his declarations that there must be a representation of both Clergy and laity in each State, and that the obligation to the English Bishops was not an *implied* one, but an actual one—that a third Bishop for America should be consecrated by them before the Church here could be considered as definitely organized.

He distinctly repudiates beforehand any action of the New York delegates looking to an annulment of these fundamental principles.

[1] Records, liber i., folio 521.

For the information of Dr. White, he transmits a copy of the following resolution as passed by the New York Convention:

"Upon motion of Mr. Harison, seconded by Mr. Rogers, it was unanimously Resolved, That it is highly necessary, in the opinion of this Convention, that measures should be pursued to preserve the Episcopal Succession in the English Line. And resolved, also, that the union of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, is of great importance and much to be desired, and that the delegates of this State, in the next General Convention, be instructed to promote that union by every prudent measure consistent with the constitution of the Church, and the continuance of the Episcopal succession in the English Line."[1]

Bishop Provoost was right in his contentions. The New York Convention and the General Convention had both accepted the principle of lay representation; lay delegates had been elected, and had sat in both Conventions, as provided for by the second and third articles of the constitution as ratified in 1786. As to the obligation to the English Bishops, it is abundantly proved by the MSS. of Bishop White. Dr. Provoost, when applied to by the Virginians to consecrate Dr. Griffith, had declined doing so, for the very reason of the lack of the canonical number of three consecrators.

The General Convention met at Philadelphia, September 29, 1789. The Bishop of New York had been suffering for some time from what he termed "disorders in the head"; he had previously suffered considerably from these attacks, premonitory symptoms, no doubt, of the disease which ultimately caused his death.

The results of the deliberations of this Convention are matters of history.

Bishop Seabury and his clergy were admitted. The constitution, though amended in many respects, provided

[1] *A Half Century of American Church Legislation*, vol. iii., p. 412.

under its second article for lay representation; but, on the other hand, the Bishops were to form a separate house. The proposal to consecrate a Bishop of Massachusetts by the three Bishops in America, Seabury, Provoost, and White, was referred to the English Archbishops for their sanction, failing which the Bishop-elect should proceed to England for consecration. It will thus be seen that while Bishop Seabury and his Clergy were admitted, the principles insisted on by the Bishop of New York were maintained: lay representation, and consent of the English Bishops prior to any consecration on this side.

The Convention of August, 1789, had entrusted to a Committee the task of drafting an address to the President of the United States, which Committee having reported, the address was ordered to be engrossed for signing.

At the Convention of October, a copy of the address, with the signatures attached, and of the President's reply were laid before the house.

Part of the address read as follows:

"To these considerations inspiring us with the most pleasing expectations as private Citizens, permit us to add, that, as the representatives of a numerous and extended Church, we most thankfully rejoice in the election of a Civic ruler, deservedly beloved, and eminently distinguished among the friends of genuine religion; who has happily united a tender regard for other Churches with an inviolable attachment to his own."

In 1789, Bishop Provoost had been chosen the first Chaplain to the Senate of the United States, under the present Constitution. When, therefore, Washington was sworn in as President on April 30th he proceeded on foot with the whole assemblage of notabilities, from the spot in Wall Street now marked by his statue, to St. Paul's Church, where special prayers were read by the Bishop of New York, and thus closed the ceremonies of his inauguration.

A panel on the bronze door of the south porch of Trinity Church commemorates this event. The pew in which Washington worshipped during his stay in the city is still in existence, on the north side of St. Paul's Chapel.

The General Convention of 1792 met in Trinity Church. Bishop Provoost presided, the other Bishops being Seabury, White, and Madison. He was the consecrator of Dr. Claggett to the See of Maryland during the session of that Convention. In 1795 he united with Bishops White, Madison, and Claggett in the consecration of Dr. Smith as Bishop of South Carolina, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and two years later in the same church he joined in the laying on of hands on Dr. Bass, first Bishop of Massachusetts. On October 18th of the same year (1797) he joined Bishops White and Bass in the consecration of Dr. Jarvis as second Bishop of Connecticut. His last participation in this Episcopal act was at the consecration of Bishops Hobart and Griswold, May 29, 1811.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REBUILDING OF TRINITY CHURCH.

Rebuilding Decided on.—Lots to be Sold—Suggestion to Raise Funds by Way of Annuity—Proposals for Rebuilding Advertised—Laying of Foundation Stone—Inscription on Stone—Comments of the Press—Description of the Church—Pews set Aside—Sale of Pews—Terms of Purchase—Permission to Transfer Pews—Purchase of Font, Prayer-Books, Bell, and Organ—Consecration of Trinity Church—Erection of a Commemorative Slab—Gift of Lustres—Gift of Sounding-Board to St. Peter's, Westchester—Clock and Bells Ordered—Their Arrival.

THE rebuilding of Trinity Church, begun in 1788 and completed in 1790, appears to have given great pleasure to the citizens of New York whose attention was occupied by the proceedings. One cannot but be grateful to the leading journal of the day for the suggestion that the erection of a spire, well provided with lightning rods, would be a protection to the neighborhood and serve as a prophylactic in case of thunder-storms. The imagination of the newspaper man of the period was lively and diverting in its flights, as becomes that faculty in every age. The new Church was built upon the same site as the old, but it was, in all respects, a much finer, as well as a larger building.

As early as 1785 the Corporation decided to take steps for securing the necessary funds for the rebuilding of the Church; ordering that subscriptions for that purpose should be solicited, and providing for the sale of certain designated lots if the money required could be raised in no other way.

A suggestion subsequently made to raise the necessary

funds by way of annuity did not meet with favor; and it was finally resolved to borrow whatever was needed beyond the amount of the subscriptions.[1]

In June, 1788, the following notice appeared in the public press:

"PROPOSALS IN WRITING

will be received on or before the 23d inst. For taking down the Walls of TRINITY CHURCH, as low as the sills of the windows all round:

"Taking down the walls of the CHANCEL, to a level with the ground:—

"Cleaning the STONES in the best manner, and laying them in heaps within the walls:—

"Removing and carrying off all the RUBBISH that may be judged useless.

R. Watts
M. Rogers
N. Cruger
N. Carmer
G. Dominick
} Commissioners for re-building Trinity Church.

"New York June 18, 1788."[2]

The walls having been taken down, proposals for laying the new foundation were called for.

"PROPOSALS IN WRITING

"Will be received on or before the 20th inst. for workmanship only.

"For digging a Trench for a new foundation for Trinity Church:—

"Taking up the old foundation from the surface of the ground downwards:—

"Cleaning the Stones, laying a new foundation, and carrying up the walls as high as the sills of the windows.

"In giving in the proposals, calculations are to be made by the perch, and the depth of the new foundation to be ascertained by the depth of the old."

(Here follow the same signatures as in the other notice.)

[1] Records, liber folio. 513.

[2] *Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 1788.

"N. B. The ground plan of the Church to be seen at Mr. Cruger's office, No. 5, Stone Street.

"New York, July 8, 1788."[1]

In August the notice for carpenters' work appeared.

"To all CARPENTERS.

"Proposals in writing will be received for Carpenters' work and materials.

"For bringing under cover, inclosing and finishing the outside of Trinity Church compleat, including the porch, in front, the columns, and arch, within the Church

ALSO

"For building the Steeple, on a base of twenty-five feet square, as described in the plan. Considered as a separate article

ALSO

"For cutting the Stone that may be wanting for the above building."[2]

Here follow the signatures of the same Commissioners as above, and the notice that the plan can be seen by applying to Mr. Rogers, 35 Queen Street.

In the issue of the same paper of the 23d appears a notice of the laying of the foundation stone.

"On Thursday at 12 o'clock, the foundation Stone of Trinity Church, was laid by the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost D.D. Bishop of the Episcopal Church of the State of New York.

"On the Stone is the following Inscription

"To the HONOR of ALMIGHTY GOD and the advancement of the Christian RELIGION

"The first *Stone* of this Building was laid (on the site of the old Church, destroyed by fire in 1776)

"On the 21st day of August A. D. 1788. In the 13th year of the INDEPENDENCE of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"The Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, D.D. Bishop of New York, being Rector,

"The Honorable James Duane Esqr. } Church
"The Honorable John Jay Esqr. } Wardens"[3]

[1] *Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1788.
[2] *Ibid.*, August 7, 1788.
[3] *Ibid.*, August 23, 1788.

The Daily Gazette becomes eloquent in relating the improvements then in progress in the City:

"Considerable progress has been made this season in the works at the Battery, one half of which are already compleated and formed into excellent wharves: the other half must lie over until next spring, but when finished will connect the whole into a most beautiful circuitous street around three-fourths of New York, from Greenwich Street along the North River until it comes to White-Hall, and from thence by the East River along Albany Pier, etc.

"But amongst all the numberless improvements carrying forward there is none that deserves approbation more than the New Church in Broad-Way; the Spire of which, by help of good Conductors, will be a great preservative against lightning, to all the houses situate within the distance of Several hundred paces, and particularly so to the Federal Hall, where Congress meet."[1]

The *New-York Magazine* for January, 1790, gave an excellent woodcut of the new Church, as a frontispiece to the account of the destruction of the old one.

"Trinity Church was founded in the year 1696, in the reign of William III while Mr. Fletcher was Governor of the Province; and divine service was first performed in it on 6th February, 1697 by the Reverend Mr. Vesey, Rector of the Parish.[2]

"The original Church was a small square edifice, large enough however to accommodate the Episcopal Congregation till the year 1735, when an addition was made at the East End, and in the year 1737 it was augmented, on the north and south sides, to the noble size in which it appeared at the time of its destruction.

"In the summer of the year 1762, the steeple was struck by lightning, and set on fire just below the ball; but the fire was soon extinguished by the activity of the Citizens, and no damage sustained but the loss of some shingles torn from the rafters by the violence of the Stroke of lightning.

"In the great conflagration of the city, on the 21st September, 1776, the Church was entirely destroyed, and the burning of it made one of the most awful parts of that dreadful spectacle. It was a spacious and

[1] *New-York Daily Gazette*, November 12, 1789.

[2] This is an error. The Church was first occupied on March 13, 1698. See Part I., p. 115.

venerable edifice, 146 feet long, including the tower and chancel 72 feet wide, and ornamented with a steeple 180 feet high. The inside of the building was decorated with a fine organ, and several pieces of handsome paintings, and some very beautiful marble monuments.

"From the size and height of this noble structure; the simple stile of its architecture; the Gothic arch of its windows, the glass of which was set in lead; from the lofty trees which embosomed it and the graves and monuments of the dead that surrounded it on every side, it presented to the passenger a striking object of contemplation, and impressed him with pleasure, corrected by reverence.

"The new Church was built by Mr. J. Robinson, carpenter, and Messrs. Moore and Smith, masons; is 104 feet long and 72 wide, and the steeple 200 feet high: but as it is not yet complete, a description in its present form would convey to our readers but an imperfect idea of the whole Edifice."[1]

The Vestry set apart special pews for the President of the United States, the Governor of the State, and members of Congress. It was further ordered that the President's pew be "properly ornamented" and have a canopy over it,[2] and the Bishop was requested to wait upon the President and acquaint him with the offer of the Corporation.

After these pews had been thus set apart, it was ordered that the rest should be sold. Notices of the sale appear in the newspapers of the period.

"TRINITY CHURCH. The Commissioners for rebuilding Trinity Church, give notice, that the first Monday in March next is the day appointed for disposing of the Pews in the said Church.

"February 3, 1790."[3]

"The Pews in Trinity Church will be disposed of on Monday the first day of March next, by order of the Vestry, and pursuant to the notice published by the Commissioners.

"Richard Harison.

"Clerk of the Corporation of Trinity Church.

"New York, February 16, 1790."[4]

[1] *New-York Magazine or Literary Repository*, January, 1790, vol. i., p. 3.

[2] Records, liber i., folio 525.

[3] *New-York Daily Gazette*, February 3, 1790.

[4] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1790.

"The Pews in TRINITY CHURCH were yesterday sold at public auction. The number of persons that attended the Sale was very great, and such was the desire of having seats in the Church, that many of the Pews produced more than FIFTY POUNDS. The whole amount of the sale was THREE THOUSAND POUNDS."[1]

From the minutes of February 15, 1790, we learn the terms on which purchasers could hold and retain the pews. They were to hold them for themselves, their wives, and descendants only so long as they paid their rents and remained members of the Church. The pews were non-transferable.[2]

Nevertheless we find that after the opening of the Church permission was requested to transfer certain pews. The Vestry accordingly, after deferring the consideration of the matter several times, finally came to the following conclusion, November 14, 1791:

"That this Board will allow the Pews in Trinity Church to be transferred for the space of three years next ensuing; provided that the Committee of Pews for that Church approve of the Persons to whom such Transfers are to be made—But upon every such Transfer the Person making the same shall deliver up the Certificate under the seal of this Corporation before such Transfer is confirmed, and in all such Cases new Certificates shall be granted."

The Building Committee were authorized to erect a font near the pulpit, to purchase a Bible and two Prayer-Books, and four folio editions of the Prayer-Book and two small ones, two new surplices, and a suitable bell. For the purchase of the organ, a special subscription was opened.

In the matter of the bell, the Lutheran congregation kindly came forward in the following year with the offer of the use of a bell; it was gratefully accepted.[3]

[1] *Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1790. [2] Records, liber i., folio 525.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 540, March 14, 1790.

The second church was built in 1788 and torn down in 1839.

The new Church was consecrated March 25, 1790, the order for its consecration having been given on February 15th preceding. Notices of the event appear in the journals of the day, of which the following is a specimen:

"The new Church lately built in Broadway, on the site of the old Trinity Church was yesterday solemnly consecrated and dedicated to the service of God, by the Right Reverend Father in God, SAMUEL, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York; assisted by the several gentlemen of the clergy belonging to the Church. A respectable number of people were assembled on this occasion. The President of the United States, together with the Rev. Clergy of the different denominations in this City, and many other persons of distinction were present. After the ceremony of consecration, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Doctor Beache, suited to the occasion, from the following verses of the XXVIII Chapter of Genesis:—

"'And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven.'"[1]

Although the Church was now consecrated, much remained to be done for its completion. From the minutes of June 13, 1791, we learn that a marble slab, with such inscription as the clergy should direct, was to be placed over the front door of Trinity Church, and a desk for the Clerk set up where the font then was, which was to be removed; from those of December 12, 1791, that galleries for the Charity Scholars were to be erected on each side of the organ; and from those of January 9, 1792, that Mr. George Knox had presented a set of lustres for the Church.

A proposal to remove the pulpit was referred to a committee, February 13, 1792, and at the close of that year, December 10th, we find that the congregation of St. Peter's Church, Westchester, asked for the sounding-board which had but lately been removed from the pulpit. The

[1] *New-York Magazine or Literary Repository*, vol. i., p. 192. See also *Daily Advertiser* for March 26, 1790, and *New-York Packet* for March 27th.

Vestry passed a resolution authorizing that the board be given them,

"with as much of the Iron work belonging to it as they may judge proper."[1]

It had been originally intended that the steeple of Trinity Church should be surmounted with a ball. This was, however, not carried out and the ball was sold.[2]

On February 8, 1796, the advisability of procuring "a clock and Bell for St. Paul's Chapel and a Ring of Bells for Trinity Church" was discussed, and on the following 11th of April the Vestry ordered that the same be procured.[3]

On August 14, 1797, it was reported to the Vestry that the "Ring of Bells" for Trinity Church had arrived by the good ship *Favorite*.

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 13. (July 9, 1792.)

[3] *Ibid.*, folio 53.

CHAPTER XIII.

GLEANINGS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CORPORATION AND CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS.

Monument to General Montgomery — Alterations in St. Paul's Gallery — Subscription for Payment of Assistant Clergy — Clerk at St. George's Deficient in Psalmody — Naming New Streets — Proposal from S. P. G. to Convey Lands at Fort Hunter to Corporation — Cost of Sinking a Well — Copies of Ogden's *Antidote to Deism* and Watson's *Apology for the Bible* Purchased for Distribution — Arrival of the Church Bells — Forbidden to be Rung — Gift of Small Bell to St. Mark's — Fire on St. Paul's Steeple — Reward for Extinguishing it — Ways and Means against Fire — Regulation of Clocks in the City — Minutes of the Vestry on Washington's Death — Charity Sermons — Corporation for Relief of Widows and Children of the Clergy — Marriage Notices — Notable Funerals — Subscription for New Organ for St. Paul's — Parade at the Burnt Church — Musical Performance by Mr. Blagrove — Yellow Fever in New York — Discovery of Vault at Fort Hunter — Anniversary of Independence, 1790 — Arrival of Bishop Madison — Ordination by Bishop Provoost — Medical Graduation, Columbia College — Marriage of Dr. Pilmore — Dr. Provoost Appointed Chaplain of the House — Georgite Bishops Criticised — Buonaparte a Connecticut Man.

TO skim the Records of the Parish, selecting for our narrative incidents likely to prove interesting, and illustrative of the old times, is the object of the author in this chapter.

To begin with the monument to General Montgomery in the portico of St. Paul's Chapel, in front of the great window,— that monument was ordered by the Vestry, and made in England. Upon its erection, it was found necessary to devise some means of concealing the rough stonework at the back, which was visible inside the Church. The Vestry invoked the assistance of Colonel L'Enfant, a person of reputation as an artist and a man of taste and invention, who happened to be residing in the city at that

time. Visitors to old St. Paul's are generally struck with amazement at sight of the remarkable decoration over its altar, displaying thunder-clouds and solid streaks of lightning, with the two tables of the Mosaic Law, above which, in a triangle, are the Hebrew letters of the name Jehovah. This was the outcome of the study of the situation by Colonel L'Enfant, whose design "to ornament that part of the great window of St. Paul's Chapel which will be obscured by the monument of General Montgomery" was highly commended by the Board. In due time the work was completed, and the artist received the thanks of the Corporation.[1] And this explains the perpetual exhibition of the scene on Mount Sinai in symbolic form, to the eyes of the worshippers in our oldest church, whenever they are directed towards its venerated altar.

On the 29th of October, 1787, the Committee on Repairs were requested to have

"a stair case erected on the South Side of St. Paul's in Front and to make such alterations in the Gallery on that side as well as where the Charity Scholars sit, as they may judge proper in order to accommodate the members of that Church with Pews in the most convenient manner."[2]

Dr. Charlton complained to the Vestry that the clerk of St. George's Chapel was "deficient in Psalmody." The Vestry therefore delegated to the members of the Corporation who attended at St. George's Chapel the unpleasant task of informing that luckless official that he should no longer officiate,

"but that his salary shall be paid to him to the end of the year for which he is engaged, provided that he officiate until another is appointed and that the said Committee procure another person to officiate in his place on trial."[3]

Here we come upon a record, bearing upon the names

[1] See Records, liber i., folios 489, 492, 512.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 498.

[3] *Ibid.*, folio 490.

of the streets, showing how they were witnesses, and still remain witnesses, to the men of old time, and to the importance of the Parish in that far-off day. It has already been observed that the Rectors and Clergy of Trinity were among the most conspicuous figures of the period, and that many of the streets were named after persons or objects connected with the Parish; as, for example, Rector Street, Church Street, Chapel Street, Vesey and Barclay Streets.[1] It would appear that the right to give names to the streets laid out on the Church lands was a prerogative of the Vestry. We find them passing a resolution to the effect that the streets on the Church lands north of Reade Street and at right angles with the river should be named successively Duane, Jay, Harison, Provoost, Moore, Beach, and Hubert Streets.[2] Four years later they ordered that the four streets southwest of Hubert Street should be named Vestry, Laight, Desbrosses, and Watts[3]; the last being called after John Watts, the loyal Recorder of the City of New York, whose bronze statue now stands in Trinity churchyard.

All these streets with but one or two exceptions still bear their original names. And here let a protest be entered, or, where protest is no longer available, an expression of unavailing regret, at the wretched, the indefensible habit of our city government in changing the names of streets which have historic interest. Chatham Street should always have remained Chatham Street; it was renamed in deference to squeamish prejudice; and now we are threatened with a worse offence in the case of Whitehall Street, known as such from the day of the evacuation of this city by the British, and before that time. There

[1] See Part I., Introduction xiv.

[2] It has been conjectured that Hubert Street may have been named after Mr. Hubert Van Wagenen.

[3] Records, liber ii., folio 24.

is, unfortunately, no final remedy against the bad taste, the folly, the fatuity of persons entrusted with a power to expunge the records of the past, and efface memorials which they have neither the brains to appreciate nor the reverence to respect.

On March 8, 1790, a letter from Dr. William Morice, Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was read to the Board. Therein the Society declared its consent to convey to the Board all its right to a farm at Fort Hunter, and requested that a draft of a deed for that purpose be transmitted to the Society.

It was therefore ordered that the Clerk prepare a draft of such a deed.[1]

The farm referred to was the three hundred acres of land granted to the Rev. Henry Barclay, situate on the south side of the Mohawk River near Fort Hunter.[2]

From the minutes of October 6, 1794, we find that the cost of sinking a well on the corner of Greenwich and Provoost streets was £10.[3]

On June 13, 1796, two hundred copies of Dr. Uzal Ogden's work, *Antidote to Deism*, were ordered to be purchased and placed at the disposal of the Rector and the Assisting Clergy.[4]

On the 9th of January following, five hundred copies of Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible* were ordered to be purchased and placed at the disposal of the Rector for distribution as he should think proper.[5] The *New-York Journal* informs its readers that "A complete Set of Bells and an Elegant Clock is received by the Favorite, Captain Drummond from London for TRINITY CHURCH."[6]

[1] Records, liber i., folio 527.

[2] *Calendar of New York Colonial Manuscripts. Indorsed Land Papers*, vol. i., p. 224. See also Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church, Albany*, pp. 137, 138.

[3] Records, liber ii., folio 34. [4] *Ibid.*, folio 54. [5] *Ibid.*, folio 60.

[6] *New-York Journal and Packet Register*, August 5, 1797.

After the bells were hung, an order was made that they should not be rung on account of any public rejoicing except by express permission of the Rector.[1] For their services on the 4th of July, 1798, the bell-ringers were paid $40.[2]

On December 6, 1799, the "small bell and its appendages in St. Paul's Church" were ordered to be taken down and given to St. Mark's Church.

In the early part of 1799, St. Paul's Chapel caught fire. Dr. Berrian in his History of the Parish says:

"I have a vivid recollection of the circumstance, and also, unless my memory deceive me, of the occasion of it. It was communicated to the steeple of St. Paul's by some burning fragments, blown from the house occupied by Sir John Temple, in Greenwich Street, which was on fire at the time. I was an eye-witness of the coolness and daring of the persons by whose efforts it was extinguished."[3]

The Vestry distributed $150 among the "Persons who were most active in extinguishing the late Fire at the Steeple of St. Paul's Church,"[4] and thereupon proceeded to take better precautions against fire. The following directions to that effect show not only a careful consideration of the problem involved, but also illustrate the methods of a hundred years ago.

"The covering of all the angles and horizontal projections of the steeples and every place where there is a probability of Fire lodging, with Lead or Tin, the cutting of openings in such places in the Steeples as may be thought necessary and to fix to each a good Rope and Slings—the providing of at least two axes and one or two saws in Each Section where any opening shall be made with a Lanthorn to hold two or three Lights, also to provide twelve additional leathern Buckets for each Church and to place a large capacious Stone cistern at the South West corner of each Church to receive the Rain Water from the Roof which Report in the several articles aforesaid was agreed to by the Board."

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 74.
[3] P. 193.
[4] Records, liber ii., folio 81.

Another measure of practical benefit to the whole community came before the Board: the regulation of the different clocks, so as to ensure a uniform standard of time. They therefore agreed that it would be better if the City Corporation were to employ some one person to regulate all the clocks of the different churches in the city, and they accordingly

"Resolved, that the Corporation of the City may employ (during the pleasure of this Board) a proper Person to regulate and keep in Repair the clocks in St. George's and St. Paul's Churches at the expence of said Corporation."

On the announcement of the death of Washington on December 13, 1799, a special meeting of the Corporation was convened at the Bishop's residence, when the several Churches belonging to the Corporation were ordered to be put in mourning.

The ordinary routine of parochial activities went on in the old Parish the same as before the Revolution. We get interesting glimpses of its work from the records in the New York papers of that date. Frequent notices occur of the sermons for the Charity-school preached in the Chapels of the Parish. On December 16th we read that the fall of snow on the Saturday before the sermon was preached

"prevented many from attending who wished to be present; such well disposed persons may have an opportunity of making their donations at St. George's Chapel on Sunday next, in the forenoon, when another sermon will be preached for the same benevolent purpose." [1]

From the Records we learn that contributions in aid of the Charity-school were received not only from the Chapels of the Parish but also from the Roman Catholics. The

[1] Loudon's *New-York Packet*, December 16, 1784.

minutes expressly acknowledge the receipt of a sum from the "Minister of the Roman Catholic Congregation."[1]

In November, 1790, we learn from the *New-York Journal* that the Charity-school consisted then of fifty-six boys and thirty girls[2]; that the sermon preached in the first week of December in St. Paul's Church was by Dr. Moore; and that the collection amounted to £73 17*s.* 8*d.*[3] The collection on the corresponding Sunday in 1791 was £275 5*s.*[4]

The members of "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen in Communion with the Church of England in America" were requested to meet on the first Sunday of the Feast of St. Michael, 1784.

At that meeting several new members were chosen, among them the Rev. Messrs. Benjamin Moore, Thomas Moore, Uzal Ogden, Sydenham Thorn, Charles Wharton, Joseph Hutchins, and Campbell; and among the laity of New York, Hon. R. R. Livingston, Hon. John Jay, William Duer, John Rutherford, John Alsop, John Stevens, Jr., Morgan Lewis, Alexander Hamilton, and Walter Livingston. Lay members from New Jersey and Pennsylvania were also elected.

On Sunday, October 10th, sermons on behalf of the Corporation were preached in the morning at St. Paul's and in the afternoon at St. George's by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, when £112 19*s.* 2*d.* was the total of the offerings.[5]

This Corporation was founded before the war. Its meetings in the early part of 1784 were helpful in drawing

[1] Records, liber i., fol. 468.

[2] *New-York Journal and Packet Register*, November 15, 1790.

[3] *Ibid.*, December 9, 1790.

[4] *Ibid.*, December 7, 1791. In proof of the constant interest in this Charity-school from the time of its foundation see Part I., pp. 278–440 *passim*.

[5] *New-York Packet and American Advertiser*, October 14, 1784.

the Episcopal Clergy together and making them realize the necessity of bringing about a united Church in the new Republic.[1]

Among the marriage notices by the Clergy of Trinity we find names as distinguished then as now for their loyalty to the Church.

On March 30, 1786, the Hon. Rufus King was married to Miss Alsop by Mr. Provoost.

The following marriages were solemnized by Dr. Moore:

August 9, 1787, William Ustick to Miss Sally Hartshorne.

November 22d, Charles M'Evers, Jun., to Mary, daughter of Theophylact Bache.

April 26, 1788, the Hon. Alexander Cochran, brother to the Earl of Dundonald, to Lady Wheate, widow of the late Sir Jacob Wheate, Bart.

May 29th, Abraham Brevoort to Miss Nancy Divore.

September 29th, Miss Bache, another daughter of Theophylact Bache, to James Bleecker.

Sunday, February 22, 1789, David Ogden Hoffman to Mary Colden.

June 6th, John Wilkes to Mary Seton.

November 17th, Martin Hoffman to Miss Murray.

February 25, 1790, Nicholas Gouverneur to Miss Kortright.

The Bishop solemnized the marriage of Azarias Williams to Sally Warner, December 29, 1788, and on May 30, 1789, that of John R. Livingston to Eliza M'Evers.

The following are some of the notable interments:

"the Lady of the Hon. Lewis William Otto, Esq. His most Christian Majesty's Charge du Affairs[2] to the United States of America, and yesterday her remains were interred in the Old Trinity Church Yard,

[1] See Perry's *History*, vol. ii., pp. 6, 16 *et al.*

[2] *Sic.*

attended by the Foreign Ministers, the members of Congress, the Clergymen of the different Churches, and a number of the principal inhabitants of the City." [1]

This lady was the daughter of the Hon. P. V. B. Livingston and was in the twenty-seventh year of her age at the time of her death.

" Mrs. Mary Jauncey, aged 67 years, the Lady of Jauncey, Esq. now in London. Her remains were interred yesterday afternoon in a vault in Trinity Church Yard." [2]

As exhibiting the manners and customs of old New York, the following account of the funeral of Mrs. Farmer may be given in full :

" On Tuesday last departed this life, in the 71st year of her age, after a tedious illness, which she bore with great resignation and Christian fortitude, Mrs. MARIA FARMER, a lady whose goodness of heart and cheerful disposition endeared her to all ranks and descriptions of people, who enjoyed the pleasure of her acquaintance ; the many distressed objects who subsisted on her bounty in particular, have reason to lament her loss. Her dying request, was that her funeral might be conducted according to the ancient Dutch custom, strict observance of which, she had expressly enjoined in her last will and Testament. Her remains were accordingly interred on Friday last, near the chancel, in Trinity Church, next to the remains of her deceased husband, the late Captain JASPER FARMER. The followers, after being liberally supplied with spiced wines, pipes and tobacco, moved in Procession from her house in Hanover Square, and proceeded up Wall Street, in the following order :

SEXTON

Messrs.	CORPSE in a roofed coffin, covered with black cloth, and a copper plate, with a Dutch inscription.	Messrs.
Theophilas Bache.		Henry Remsen.
Corns. Clopper.		Abraham Walton.
Jacob Lefferts.		Johannes Alstyne.
Jeronimus Alstyne.		Petrus Bogart.

[1] *Independent Journal*, December 19, 1787.
[2] *New-York Packet*, September 12, 1788.

RELATIONS
DOCTORS
Rev. Dr. ROGERS and Dominie GROSS
Bishop and Clergy of the Episcopal Church
Dutch Clergy
Citizens.

" ' She 's now released from a world of woe :
Eternal Wisdom hath conceived it best,
On her a crown of glory to bestow,
With Saints above, in her Redeemer's rest.' " [1]

One disinterment caused great excitement throughout the whole city. A body was stolen from the Churchyard. The Corporation immediately offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage.

" 100 DOLLARS REWARD.

" WHEREAS one night last week the grave of a person recently interred in Trinity Church Yard was opened, and the Corpse, with part of the cloaths were carried off. Any person who will discover the offenders, so that they may be convicted and brought to justice, will receive the above reward from the Corporation of Trinity Church—

" By order of the Vestry,
" ROBERT C. LIVINGSTON,
" Treasurer.

" New York, February 21, 1788." [2]

From the minutes we learn that this reward of one hundred dollars was made up by a contribution of the Vestry of fifty dollars, and of a like amount by Mr. Robert.[3]

In June, 1785, we have a notice that

" It is expected that the subscription which is shortly to be opened for erecting an organ, in St. Paul's Church, in this City, will meet with

[1] *Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1788. [2] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1788.
[3] Records, liber i., folio 502.

very generous Encouragement; as it is intended to build one equal, if not superior to that excellent one, destroyed by fire in Trinity Church."[1]

On Sunday, October 7, 1787,

"the Company of Grenadiers and the Light Infantry of Col. Varick's regiment, paraded at the Burnt Church in the Broadway, and from thence marched to the Baptist Church."[2]

From the *New-York Magazine* for August, 1790, we transcribe the following account of a musical performance in Trinity Church:

"Two Elegant pieces of sacred music were performed in Trinity Church, by the Reverend *Benjamin Blagrove*, from Virginia, whose voice was accompanied by the organ. In consequence of notice being given beforehand in the newspapers, and Mr. *Blagrove's* great reputation as a singer, the concourse of people upon this occasion was very great; their expectations were amply gratified, and a very liberal collection made for Mr. *Blagrove's* benefit, testified their approbation of his performance."[3]

The following is a vivid account of the state of New York during the prevalence of the yellow fever.

"This city has been in a truly melancholy situation—but the accounts of the mortality have been greatly exaggerated in the country. It would be like preaching to stocks to attempt to make those believe, whose natural habit is *distrust* on all occasions—but we place the most implicit confidence in the diurnal reports of our Health Committee, whose assiduities demand our thanks. The fever has lately extended along Water street but generally the west and north of the city are as healthy as usual. Consternation has added greatly to the distress of the city—instead of learning righteousness when the judgments of the Lord are abroad, many have apparently called upon the rocks to fall on them to hide them from the wrath of the most high. The poor of the city have suffered much, but their wants are liberally supplied from the hands of benevolent donors. Very little business has been done. A

[1] *New-York Packet*, June 13, 1785.
[2] *Daily Advertiser*, October 9, 1787.
[3] *New-York Magazine or Literary Repository*, vol. i., p. 492.

solemn calm has reigned through every street. Divine service, or concerts of prayers, have been performed in one or other of the churches twice or thrice a week, besides Sundays, if it were possible, that the Lord would think upon the city, and distroy it not utterly. We are now blessed with salubrious western gales, which is conceived to be sent in mercy—and presages to our hopes, that the city will be free from the epidemic in a little time. It certainly puts on a less terrific hue—not more than one in twenty die. Those who have died were the greater part new residents."[1]

It will perhaps be remembered that about the year 1710, Governor Hunter, while engaged in his heated contention with the first Rector of Trinity, Dr. William Vesey, executed a flank movement upon his clerical adversary by restoring and refitting the chapel in the Fort, in hopes to draw people off from the Parish Church, and that in connection with this restoration, the Governor caused a burial vault to be constructed. The *New-York Journal and Patriotic Register* of June 15, 1790, thus records the finding of that vault:

"A Vault was discovered a few days ago in Fort George, by those employed to demolish it, which seems to surpass, the memory of our oldest Citizens—by the inscription on the coffin plate, the person interred was the lady of Governor Hunter, and had lain in that silent cell seventy four years. A few of her bones and fragments of her burial apparel remained unconsumed."

The anniversary of independence was duly observed in 1790, by what is now the oldest and most exclusive of our patriotic societies.

"The Society of the Cincinnati Convened at the City Tavern, from whence they proceeded, under escort to St. Paul's Church where an Oration was delivered, which did honor to the orator, Brockholst Livingston, Esq. The auditory was brilliant and respectable; the President, Vice President and both Houses of the Congress of the United States with many strangers of distinction were present."[2]

[1] *New-York Journal and Patriotic Register*, Oct. 17, 1795. [2] *Ibid.*, July 6, 1790.

The following records the arrival of the fourth Bishop of the American Church and of the first Bishop of the Roman Church.

"On Tuesday last the Ship Sampson, Capt Thomas More, Arrived here from London. . . . In the same vessel also came passenger (and was landed in Virginia) the Right Rev. Doctor James Madison, Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Virginia, who was on the 20th of Sept. last Consecrated, at Lambeth Chapel, London, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Assisted by the Bishops of London and Rochester. By the same Ship arrived John Carroll 'Bishop of the Catholic Church in the United States.'"[1]

The newspaper is in error as to the date when Madison was consecrated; it was on September 19th.

If, as the reading of the above item would imply, the Roman Bishop landed on these shores after Bishop Madison, then there were four Bishops of the American Church on American soil before the first Roman Bishop reached it. Certainly three Bishops, Seabury, Provoost, and White, were already exercising jurisdiction and had done so for years before the first Roman Bishop arrived.

The *New-York Journal* of June 29, 1791, chronicles:

"On Saturday last one of those trees in front of Trinity Church, Broadway, was twisted by a whirlwind";

and the same paper, under date of June 27, 1792, contains the notice of the election on the 31st of May of Dr. Claggett to the See of Maryland.

The following refers to an ordination by Bishop Provoost.

"We learn, that on Sunday last, in St. Paul's Chapel, *Priests Orders* were conferred on the Revd. ROBERT GRIFFITH WETMORE, M.A. and *Deacons Orders* on Mr. PHILANDER CHASE, B.A. by the Right Revd. *Samuel Provoost*, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York.

[1] *New-York Journal and Patriotic Register*, Dec. 20, 1790.

"We are also informed that the Revd. Mr. Chase is about to succeed Mr. Wetmore, in the office of Missionary."[1]

Here is a record of what must have been an impressive function:

"On Tuesday, the 30th of April, was publicly celebrated the MEDICAL GRADUATION under the *Faculty of Physic* of COLUMBIA COLLEGE. A procession, formed on the College green, proceeded for this purpose to St. Paul's Church. It was composed of the Students under the Faculty of Arts, the Medical Students, the Professors, the President, the Trustees, the Regents of the University, the Mayor of the City, the Governor of the State, together with a number of the clergy and other respectable Citizens."[2]

The same paper, under date of January 17, 1795, chronicles the marriage of Dr. Pilmore, of Christ Church, to "the amiable Mrs. Wood," by Bishop White,[3] and seven days afterwards[4] the appointment of Dr. Provoost as one of the Chaplains of the House.

If Bishop Seabury and the non-juring Bishops came in for criticism, the three Bishops of the English succession did not escape their share.

The *New-York Journal* copies a long tirade from *The Boston Courier* on the election of Dr. "Peaters" as Bishop of Vermont, and railing against the three "Georgite Bishops."[5]

The following piece of information, if not ecclesiastical, will nevertheless prove new to our readers. A correspondent to the *New-York Journal* positively asserts that

"Buonaparte is an assumed name, his family name is SHALER, from Middletown, in Connecticut, not a Corsican as at first reported by one of your friends."[6]

[1] *New-York Journal and Patriotic Register*, June 13, 1798.
[2] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1793. [3] *Ibid.*, January 17, 1795. [4] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1795.
[5] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1795. [6] *Ibid.*, December 30, 1796.

CHAPTER XIV.

DR. PROVOOST'S RECTORSHIP.

Increase of Salaries of all the Clergy—Grants to Needy Clergy Elsewhere—Aid to Promotion of Religion throughout the State—Grants to Parishes and Congregations —Cases of Flushing and Hudson—Total of Grants in 1798—Grants to Be Considered as Endowments—Wisdom of Corporation—Grants to Roman Catholic Church—Offer from Mr. Stuyvesant for Building a Church—Response by Corporation—Erection of St. Mark's Parish—Consecration of St. Mark's—Further Grants to it from Trinity —Centennial of St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery.

THE financial status of the Corporation of Trinity Church was, as has been already observed, at a very low ebb at the close of the Revolutionary War. During the Rectorship of Dr. Provoost, thanks to changed conditions and to wise and prudent management, a great improvement took place. My venerable predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Berrian, in his brief historical sketch of the Parish, alludes, with pardonable pride, to the services rendered by it to the Church and religion.

"In the early part of the history of this Parish," he observes, "it stood in need of assistance itself, and was, therefore, altogether unable to attend to the wants of others. The first instance of its bounty towards a neighbouring church recorded in the minutes, was in the gift of the communion cloth, pulpit cloth, and cloth for the desk, to Mr. Peter Jay, for the church at Rye, in the year 1745. Since that time, in every alteration and improvement of Trinity Church and its Chapels, its gifts to needy congregations of articles of all kinds have been innumerable; baptismal fonts, communion plate, chandeliers, lustres, pulpits, desks, stoves, bells, iron gates, iron railing and other fences, flagging stones, carpets for chancel and aisles, and almost everything which can enter into the construction and serve for the decoration of the Sanctuary.

These, however, though a seasonable relief to parishes which were limited in their resources, are scarcely worthy of being noticed in connection with its lavish bounties and munificent grants to most of the churches throughout the State. There is hardly a form in which their liberality could promote the interests of religion that it has not assumed."

And then he adds, writing in the year 1847:

"The aggregate amount of the gifts, loans, and grants of Trinity Church, rating the lands at their present prices, considerably exceeds TWO MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, a sum more than equal, in the opinion of competent judges, to two-thirds of the value of the estate which remains."[1]

The dawning of financial prosperity was indicated by a generous increase in the salaries of the Clergy of the Parish, and handsome gifts to other clergymen in the States of New York and New Jersey.[2] In fact, the Corporation appears to have assumed the part of trustees for an "Aged and Infirm Clergy Fund," as we should call it to-day. Moreover, it acted as a "Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning," for we find that at a meeting held in January, 1795,

"A letter from the revd John Cosens Ogden was read, and thereupon resolved that the Rector be at Liberty to draw from the Funds of this Corporation such sums as he may from time to time think proper, not exceeding in the whole One hundred and fifty Pounds, to be applied in such manner as he, with the advice of the Assistant Clergy may think most calculated for the promotion of religion upon the Frontiers of this State."

A few days afterward, on April 11th, the words "Frontiers of this State" having been considered objectionable, it was

"Resolved that the words Northern and Western Parts of the State be considered as inserted in the Resolution of the last meeting relative

[1] Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 366, 386. [2] Records, liber ii., folio 48, 50, 52.

to the Promotion of Religion instead of the words Frontiers of this State."[1]

The prosperity of the Parish is evidenced not only by the increase in the salaries of their Clergy, and the relief of Clergy in distress, but much more by the generous response to the stream of applications which now began to pour in from congregations of Church people.

The following list represents but a few of the parishes and congregations that then appealed for aid, and not in vain, to the Mother of all the Churches:

St. Peter's, Albany; St. Peter's, Westchester; St. Andrew's Church, Ulster Co.; congregations at Salem, Washington Co., Poughkeepsie, Peekskill, Hempstead, Flushing, East Chester, Waterford, Milton, Saratoga Co., Duanesburgh, Fort Hunter, North Salem, Hudson, Rochelle, Highlands, Staten Island, Ballston, White Plains, Rye, Johnstown, Jamaica, New Town, Rensselaer, St. John's, Stillwater, a church in New Hampshire, etc.

Nor were these contributions made at haphazard. Each application, as it came in, was referred to a Special Committee created for the very purpose and designated as "The Committee upon Applications from Episcopal Congregations for Aid." Each application was investigated and in almost every case the money was given on the special condition that it should be invested in the purchase of a glebe for the clergyman.

Two of these agreements may be cited as examples; that with Flushing and that with Hudson. To Flushing £500 was donated on February 13, 1797, on the distinct condition that the Flushing corporation bound itself to call a minister within fifteen months, and further that within the space of three years it was to vest the said sum of £500 in the purchase of a glebe.[2] In the case of the grant

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 60.

to Hudson, where the management of their affairs had not been businesslike, the action taken was as follows:

"Resolved that the sum of eight hundred Pounds be advanced to the Corporation of Christ's Church at Hudson to discharge the Debts incurred by them in Building their Church upon their giving such Security as may be approved by the Rector and Committee appointed to consider of the Applications of different Churches for Relief that they will in five years apply an equal sum to the purchase of a Glebe for the use of their Minister or on Failure return the said sum to this Corporation."[1]

On January 8, 1798, the "Committee upon Applications from Episcopal Congregations for Aid" reported as follows:

"The subscribers to whom were referred the Applications and Petitions of several Societies of Christians stiling themselves Members of Protestant Episcopal Church, soliciting the Assistance of this Corporation for the use and accommodation of their respective Pastors and Churches do report, That after having investigated the Merits of the several applications as far as Testimony could be obtained, they are of opinion that whenever satisfactory Evidence is exhibited to the Bishop that an Episcopal Establishment is formed at Each or Either of those particular Districts according to the Rites Ceremonies and Principles of the Corporation of Trinity Church in this City of which the Bishop aforesaid is Rector that then the said Corporation will provide ways and means for the Payment of the under mentioned Sums on the express Condition, That the Said monies shall be appropriated to the purchase of Glebes for the accommodation and support of Episcopal Clergymen for the Time being of the said several Congregations, where no Provision to the same amount is already permanently established. The same Donations to be made under the Direction and applied to the Satisfaction of the Bishop of this State and the Committee of the Vestry to whom the several Petitions aforesaid were referred viz:—

To the Episcopal Establishment	at Brooklyn	£ 400
	at Westchester	200
	at Peeks Kill	300
	at the Highlands	300
	at Goshen, Orange Co.	500

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 53.

To the Episcopal Establishment	at Poughkeepsie	£500
	at the City of Hudson	800
	at Albany	2500
	at New Stanford	200
	at Sallem or Campden	200
	at Lake Oneida	200
	at Ballstown	250
	at Duanesburgh	300
		£6650

Making in the Aggregate the sum of *Six Thousand six hundred and fifty Pounds* which said several sums are to be considered as free gifts from the Corporation of Trinity Church to be applied by the Receivers for the sole use and Benefit of the Pastors of the Congregations respectively according to the true intent and meaning of the preceding Report."[1]

This large sum must not be taken as the limit of Trinity's benefactions up to that date; it only represents the total therein scheduled as granted on that one day.

The wise insistence that these grants should be so invested as to form an endowment for the support of the clergyman cannot be too highly commended. Well would it have been if the parishes so aided had in every case been loyal to their trust, instead of diverting the glebes, and the proceeds of their sale, to purposes other than the maintenance of the ministry.[2] In their emphatic declaration that glebes should be for the sole use of the ministers, the Corporation did but rehearse the old law of England on that point. Glebes, or their proceeds, are for the maintenance and sole use of the clergyman, but not for building or repairing churches or paying current expenses.

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 69.

[2] See address delivered by the Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D.D., in Trinity Church, May 4, 1897.—*Narrative of Events Connected with the Bicentennial Celebration of Trinity Church*, p. 178. See also *A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany*, by the Rev. Joseph Hooper, M.A., p. 157.

Although the grants to congregations were generally limited to those within the State of New York, yet whenever peculiar cases of distress were brought before the Board they did not hesitate to give aid outside these limits. When the church and parsonage at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, were destroyed by fire, a grant of $1000 was made towards the rebuilding of the church.[1]

In response to

"a Petition from the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter's in this City praying the Board to relinquish a Part of the Arrears now due, and an abatement of their Rent,"

It was resolved on June 8, 1795,

"that this Board will dispose of to the Trustees of Saint Peter's Church in fee simple all those Lots under Lease to them for the sum of one thousand pounds to be paid in two months and will remit and discharge them from all Back Rents due to this Corporation if such takes effect."[2]

It is not proposed to relate in detail the history of the churches and parishes founded or aided by Trinity Corporation. Monographs have been written on all or most of them, and are easily accessible. A list of such churches and parishes is given in the Appendix.[3] As to one of the most interesting of those churches, St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery, something, however, may be added here.

On July 8, 1793, an offer was received from Mr. Stuyvesant to give a lot of land 150 feet wide by 190 feet long and £800 towards building a church on his lands.[4]

On January 19, 1795, the Vestry pledged themselves to raise the sum of £4000 towards building the church; and on the following February 9th a resolution was passed by the Board that the Corporation would not engage itself to any amount greater than £5000 towards the erection of the new church.[5]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 168. [2] *Ibid.*, folio 42.
[3] Appendix XII. [4] Records, liber ii., folio 21. [5] *Ibid.*, folio 37.

On November 14, 1796, a Committee was appointed to consider the propriety of making St. Mark's Church a distinct Corporation.

On January 9, 1797, the Committee appointed to consider what measures it would be proper to adopt in regard to the new Church of St. Mark's, reported as their opinion that the Church

"should be finished in a decent Manner by the End of next Summer, and that as it would be inexpedient to increase the Number of Churches to be supported by this Corporation Measures should be taken by the Advice of Counsel for organizing a Corporation to consist of Protestant Episcopalians disposed to form a Corporation there or for placing them otherwise in a Situation to receive further assistance from this Corporation, in the most safe and convenient method ;—due Regard being always had to their Union with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

"Thereupon Resolved—That the Board agree to the above Resolution and that the Counsel of the Corporation be requested to consider of and state a proper plan for carrying the same into Execution."[1]

On April 22, 1799, it was resolved that St. Mark's Church be consecrated on Thursday, May 9th, on which date it was accordingly consecrated by Bishop Provoost.[2]

Subsequently, Trinity Corporation gave St. Mark's a grant of thirty lots for its endowment.

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 59.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 81. The ancient parish here referred to celebrated its Centennial in the month of May, 1899. An account of the proceedings on that occasion is given in a very handsome 8vo volume, entitled, *Memorial of St. Mark's Church in the Bowery*, containing an account of the services held to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the dedication of the Church on May 9, 1799, with the several discourses delivered ; an historical sketch of the Church ; brief biographies of the Rectors ; and interesting information from the Parish Annals. Published by the Vestry. New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1899, pp. 191. To that volume the reader is referred for a more full account of the part borne by Trinity Corporation in founding the parish, and for some extracts from our minutes relating to the subject, which it has not been deemed necessary to insert in this history.

CHAPTER XV.

CLOSE OF DR. PROVOOST'S RECTORSHIP.

Petition in Favor of Rev. Joseph Pilmore—His Popularity—His Antecedents—Opposition of the Vestry—Their Election of Rev. John Bisset—Dissatisfaction of Mr. Pilmore's Friends—Erection of Christ Church—Displeasure of Trinity Corporation—Their Resolution—Reason for their Displeasure—Election of Delegates by Christ Church—Not Admitted at Conventions—Settlement of the Controversy—Resignation of Mr. Bisset—Election of John Henry Hobart—His Letter of Acceptance—Ratification of his Election—Resignation of Rectorship by Dr. Provoost—Action of Corporation—Annuity Voted—Deed of Resignation—Election of Dr. Moore—Death of Mrs. Provoost—Resignation by Dr. Provoost of his Bishopric—Letter of Resignation—Action of the House of Bishops—Assertion of Canonical Right to Jurisdiction by Dr. Provoost—Action of New York Convention—His Death—Comments of the Press—His Funeral—Terms of his Will—His Character—Attainments and Influence—Portrait of—Memorials to.

ON the 10th of October, 1791, a petition signed by William Post and 172 other persons, all members of the Church, was presented to the Corporation of Trinity Church, praying for the appointment of the Rev. Joseph Pilmore as an Assistant Minister, and the Establishment of a Sunday evening lecture in the Parish.[1]

Action on this petition was deferred until, in the month of July following, the request was renewed, by a second petition to the same effect,[2] perhaps more urgent because, in the meantime, another clergyman, the Rev. John Bisset, had been appointed an Assistant in the Parish. This gentleman was born in Scotland about the year 1762. Graduating at Aberdeen, he came to America, and was ordained by Bishop Seabury in 1786. In 1789 he was Rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Maryland, and a deputy to

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 12.

General Convention, and in 1792 he was called to Trinity Parish.

It is evident that while a considerable number of the people were anxious to have Mr. Pilmore added to the staff of the Parish, yet the feeling in his favor was not unanimous.

The opposition to him appears to have been upon two grounds: the first, that he had been ordained by Bishop Seabury in contravention of the resolution adopted by the General Convention of June, 1786, that no minister should be received who should be ordained by a Bishop in America pending the application to the Bishops in England for the Episcopate; and secondly, that he had been an itinerant Wesleyan preacher.

It is true that he had travelled up and down the colonies from Maine to Georgia, and that wherever he appeared, great crowds had flocked to listen to his impassioned addresses; but he had never submitted to laying on of hands by the followers of Wesley; and upon the return of Seabury from Scotland, with the gift of Episcopal power, he had applied to him for Holy Orders. His ordination to the Diaconate and Priesthood occurred in November, 1785; whereupon he went to Pennsylvania as Rector of the united Parishes of Trinity, Oxford, All Saints', Lower Dublin, and St. Thomas's, Whitemarsh; and afterwards as Assistant to Dr. Magaw, the Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.

While the vehement preaching and erratic methods of the Wesleyan preachers may not have commended themselves to Dr. Provoost, yet there is no reason to doubt that the choice between Mr. Pilmore and Mr. Bisset was purely on the merits of the respective candidates and their fitness for the position, and on no other ground. From what we know of these men, it is clear that the

selection lay between two powerful and eloquent preachers. Dr. Berrian, though confessing that he was little acquainted with the history of Mr. Bisset, acknowledges that he had often heard of his eloquence and popularity[1]; while William A. Duer, in his *Reminiscences of an Old Yorker*, writes of Mr. Bisset[2]:

"A more eloquent and powerful preacher, perhaps, if not a more popular one, than any preceding or succeeding him in the office. . . . . Besides being an excellent preacher, he was,—what indeed was requisite to make him such, a sound divine, and a ripe and good scholar."[3]

Sprague in his *Annals*, moreover, states that the matter was submitted by the Vestry to the three congregations, and that Mr. Bisset was elected by a large majority.[4]

As to the statement that the Vestry opposed Mr. Pilmore on the ground of his having been ordained by Bishop Seabury, it falls to the ground, because Mr. John Bisset was himself ordained by that Bishop, and in the very year in which the General Convention passed its famous resolution.

Upon the election of Mr. Bisset to the assistantship in Trinity Parish, the admirers of Mr. Pilmore, true to their favorite, and resolved not to give him up, determined to organize a parish of their own; accordingly, on April 3, 1793, they filed a certificate of incorporation with the County Clerk, called Mr. Pilmore, and built a church for him on the north side of Ann Street, between William and Nassau Streets.

[1] *Historical Sketch*, p. 192.

[2] P. 18.

[3] For some years, during his connection with Trinity Church, he held the professorship of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in Columbia College.

[4] Vol. v., p. 443. Although there is no mention of this reference to the congregations in the Records of the Vestry, yet it is not unlikely that it was made; the Board being desirous to appoint persons acceptable to the several congregations.

The Vestry of Trinity Church lost no time in expressing their dissatisfaction with these proceedings. On October 3, 1793, a resolution was adopted

"That the late seperation from the Congregation of Trinity Church appears to be unjustifiable, has a tendency to create discord and Confusion, and ought to be discontinued.

"Therefore, Resolved also, That the admission of Delegates from the persons who have so seperated Into the Convention of the State or the acknowledgement of them as a distinct Church By that Body would in the opinion of this Board be highly Improper and ought to be opposed."[1]

The opposition of the Board to the erection of Christ Church was justifiable. The title of the Corporation was, "The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York," and every Churchman had a right to look to it for religious ministrations. In point of law, therefore, every community of Church people within the city had a legal claim on the Corporation. The Board readily recognized this claim, not only in the case of dwellers within the city, but also of Church people throughout the State. If, however, the Corporation admitted the obligation to minister to Church people it rightly maintained that there was a corresponding obligation on the part of Church people not to break off into little communities and erect churches wherever they liked. True, St. Mark's Church had recently been founded as a separate parish, and liberally endowed by the Corporation on the petition of Mr. Stuyvesant and others; but the reason was because St. Mark's was in the fields, away from the older churches, and not, like the new upstart, within a stone's throw of St. Paul's Chapel. As conservators of property held for the benefit of Churchmen of the city of New York, the Vestry rightly protests against the action of the builders of Christ

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 22.

Church. This new organization, should it at any time fall into financial straits, might be expected to call on the Corporation for a share of its revenues, so that a venture started without the consent of the Corporation might have jeoparded the whole of its property. It is also to be remembered that the Rector of the Parish was the Bishop of the Diocese, so that the separatists were acting in opposition to their Diocesan.

The above resolution of the Board was confirmed at a subsequent meeting, October 6, 1794.[1]

The congregation of Christ Church, however, went on its way and duly elected its delegates, but they were as regularly refused admission in the Convention, till the year 1802, when Christ Church formally executed a deed relinquishing any claim it might have to the property of the Corporation: it was then formally admitted into union with the Convention,[2] and the Corporation gave liberally, as we shall see, towards its endowment funds.

Dr. Pilmore remained in New York as incumbent of Christ Church, drawing such large crowds to his ministrations that there was not even standing-room when he preached. In the year 1804 he left his charge, to succeed Dr. Magaw as Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia.[3] The Rev. Mr. Bisset, the successful rival of Dr. Pilmore, after having served as deputy from New York to the General Convention, and as secretary to that body, resigned his position in Trinity Church, March 10, 1800,[4] and in the same year went to London, where he died about the year 1810.

No action was taken for appointing a successor to Mr. Bisset till five months afterward, when on August 11th, it was

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 34.

[2] See also *Historical Sketch of Christ Church, New York City*, by William G. Davies.

[3] See Sprague's *Annals*, vol. v., p. 266.

[4] Records, liber ii., folio 92.

"On motion Resolved, that an Assistant Clergyman be procured, whereupon the Rector nominated the Rev. Mr. Hobart for that appointment." [1]

On the 8th of September,

"It having been represented, by Dr. Charlton as the wish of the Bishop to resign his office as Rector of this Corporation at some future period,—*Resolved* that his resignation be accepted whenever he chuses to relinquish the office, and that he be allowed one thousand dollars yearly during his life to commence from the time of his resignation." [2]

On the Rector's return to the chair the above resolution was put and agreed to.

The offer of the assistantship to Mr. Hobart, and his acceptance of the same, are entered in full on the minutes of October 13, 1800.

"Rev. Sir,

"We are a Committee appointed by the Vestry of Trinity Church for the purpose of communicating to you their wishes for your acceptance of an Assistant Minister in the Churches under their care upon the same terms on which the other Assistant Ministers are placed but upon condition that you do engage to perform divine Service in one of the Churches on Sunday evenings until another Assistant Minister may be called, who will take his Share of that Duty.

"The Vestry have recommended to the Rector in arranging the Duties of the Several Assistants for the Day, to have a regard to this additional share required of you.

(Signed) John Charlton, Andrew Hamerly, } Committee.

"New York, Sept. 17, 1800.

"The Revd. John Hobart."

"Sir,

"I take the liberty of informing you as Chairman of the Committee who presented to me the call from the vestry of Trinity Church to the office of Assistant Minister, that I accept the said office on the Terms stated in the Call. The Congregation with which I am at present connected have exerted themselves so much to render my situation comfortable and happy, that I think I cannot with delicacy and pro-

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 90.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 100.

priety leave them before the Spring unless they should signify to me, that they have chosen another Minister and are willing to dispense with my services. Permit me thro' you, Sir, to express to the vestry my sensibility to the Polite and honorable manner in which this business has been conducted. The best evidence that I can give of my feelings will be an endeavour to act in all cases with fidelity and independence governed only by a sincere Regard to the sacred dictates of conscience and duty. The Station would require the Judgment and experience of more advanced years. I shall have therefore a peculiar claim on the Friendship and Counsel of the vestry, on the Candor and support of the Congregation and on the affectionate advice and aid of my Superiors and Brethren in the Ministry. Thus strengthened and supported while I endeavour faithfully to discharge my duty, I trust that I may hope for the Presence and blessing of Almighty God. With sentiments of sincere respect for yourself and the Committee, and for the Rector and Vestry of the Church,

"I am Sir,

"Your obedt. servant,

(Signed) "JOHN HENRY HOBART.[1]

"Dr. CHARLTON."

Mr. Hobart at the time of his election was incumbent of Hempstead, Long Island, having recently gone there from New Brunswick. He was just twenty-five years of age and still in Deacon's orders when he received the call to the assistantship of Trinity Church. In December he moved to New York and entered upon his work.[2]

Later on, the question was raised as to the legality of electing as Assistant Minister one who was in Deacon's orders only, and as an examination of the Charter proved that one in Priest's orders only was eligible, the Vestry passed a resolution on April 12, 1802, after Mr. Hobart had been ordered a Priest, whereby

"the said call is hereby ratified and confirmed to all intents and purposes the same as if the said Reverend J. H. Hobart had been in Priest's orders at the time of said call." [3]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 101.

[2] See his letter of March 18, 1801. *Hobart's Works*, by Berrian, p. 77.

[3] Records, liber ii., folio 122.

As soon as these matters were settled, and the new Assistant was about to move into New York, the venerable and infirm Rector, who had been waiting for the completion of the transaction, announced his intention to relinquish his office without further delay. It was now ordered, November 9, 1800, that the Bishop's salary should be continued to the first of August next following, and that he should have the use of the house he occupied for a year; and, further,

"That on the Resignation as aforementioned this Board will allow him the sum of one thousand dollars annually during his life the same to commence from the first day of August next, and that the clerk be authorized to prepare some proper instrument under the Seal of this Corporation for such annuity and that the said Instrument be submitted to Mr. Cadwallader D. Colden as the Rector's Attorney." [1]

On the 2d of December, the covenants having been read, approved, and ordered to be sealed and delivered, the Rector thereupon presented his resignation in the terms following:

"In the Name of God, Amen. I Samuel Provost Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York and Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York before you the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Said Church and in the Presence of Credible Witnesses here present, for certain just and lawful causes me and my mind hereunto specially moving without compulsion, fear, fraud, or deceit; Do purely simply and absolutely give up the said Rectory of the Parish of Trinity Church; and my office of Rector in the Corporation of 'The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York,' by whatsoever Name the said Rectory may be most properly known and distinguished, and also the said Church with all the Rights, Members, and Appurtenances thereunto belonging into the hands of You the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen the Patrons thereof; with all my Right, Title, and Possession of in and to the same. I quit cede and renounce them and expressly recede from them by

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 104.

these Presents. In witness whereof I the said Samuel Provoost have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty second day of December in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Eight hundred—"

The resignation having been accepted the Rector "took his leave of the Board in the most affectionate manner," and the Vestry proceeded to the election of a Rector, when Dr. Benjamin Moore was duly chosen. Messrs. Clarkson and Smith were directed to acquaint him of his election, and Dr. Moore "thereupon addressed the Board and signified his acceptance of the Rectory and was duly Inducted into the Church in the presence of Thomas Collister and William J. Forbes by delivering the key of the Church to him."[1]

In August, 1799, Mrs. Provoost, to whom the Bishop had been most tenderly attached, died after a lingering illness. The loss of his wife preyed greatly on his mind. The "disorders in his head," as he termed them, became more frequent, in addition to which he had to endure domestic trials which added greatly to the burden of life. His resignation as the Rector of Trinity Parish on December 22, 1800, was soon followed by that of his office of Bishop. It was presented to the Diocesan Convention first, and immediately after to the General Convention in the following touching letter:

"NEW YORK, Sept. 7, 1801.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR:

"I think it my duty to request that, as President of the House of Bishops, you will inform that venerable body, that, induced by ill health, and some melancholy occurrences in my family, and an ardent wish to retire from all public employment, I resigned at the last meeting of our Church Convention, my jurisdiction as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of New York.

"I am with great regard, dear and right rev. sir,

"Your affectionate brother,

"SAMUEL PROVOOST.

"Right Rev. Bishop WHITE."

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 106.

The House of Bishops, in acting on this resignation, put on record the following opinion, that they

"can see no grounds on which to believe that the contemplated resignation is consistent with ecclesiastical order, or with the practice of Episcopal churches in any ages, or with the tenor of the Office of Consecration. Accordingly, while they sympathize most tenderly with their brother Bishop Provoost, on account that ill health, and those melancholy occurrences which have led to the design in question, they judge it to be inconsistent with the sacred trust committed to them to recognize the Bishop's act as an effectual resignation of his Episcopal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, being sensible of the present exigencies of the church of New York, and approving of their making provision for the actual discharge of the duties of the Episcopacy, the Bishops of this house are ready to consecrate to the office of a Bishop, any person who may be presented to them with the requisite testimonials from the General and State Conventions, and of whose religious, moral and literary character, due satisfaction may be given. But this house must be understood to be explicit in their declaration, that they shall consider such a person as assistant or co-adjutor Bishop during Bishop Provoost's life, although competent, in point of character to all the Episcopal duties; the extent in which the same shall be discharged by him, to be dependent on such regulations as expediency may dictate to the Church in New York, grounded on the indisposition of Bishop Provoost, and with his concurrence."[1]

The House of Bishops were right in insisting that the new Bishop for New York should be a coadjutor during the life of the Diocesan; unfortunately they did not act upon the line which they had taken. On the very day following, September 10th, they declared that they were ready to proceed to the consecration of Dr. Moore, the "Bishop-Elect of the Church in the State of New York" —and as such they consecrated him on the 11th. The certificate of his consecration proves this, and in the journals of succeeding conventions he is always styled "Bishop of New York", as White and Claggett are styled "of

[1] *Half Century of Legislation*, vol. i., p. 272.

Pennsylvania" and "of Maryland" respectively. The action of the House of Bishops should have corresponded with their recorded opinion. This error, for so it must be considered, led to an unfortunate complication when Dr. Hobart was elected Bishop, his opponents endeavoring to induce the aged and infirm Bishop Provoost to assert a canonical right to jurisdiction in the Diocese of New York. The Diocese protested against any such resumption of jurisdiction, and the episode closed.

Little remains to be said of the Fifth Rector of Trinity Church. The end came suddenly to this much-afflicted man. On the 6th of September, 1815, he was seized with an attack of apoplexy which proved fatal. His death was announced in the evening paper of that date:

"Suddenly this morning, in the 73d year of his age, the Right Reverend SAMUEL PROVOOST, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York.

"As among such a number of relations, and so long a list of friends, it is impossible to send particular invitations, without some, tho' involuntary omissions; the friends and relations of the family, and of Mr. Colden, and generally the friends of the Church, are hereby invited to attend the funeral of the Bishop from his late residence, No. 261 Greenwich street, tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock."[1]

The Parish Church was put in mourning[2] and other churches in the city paid a similar tribute of respect to the late Diocesan.

An account of the funeral is given in the *New-York Evening Post* of Sept. 11, 1815:

"The funeral of Bishop Provoost took place on Thursday. Owing

[1] *New-York Evening Post*, September 6, 1815.

The Record of Bishop Provoost's death is on file at the Department of Health. It states that he died in Greenwich Street of apoplexy, aged 73 years, and was buried in Trinity Cemetery, the sexton being T. Collester.

No. 261 Greenwich Street in 1815, is now No. 279, between Murray and Warren Streets.

[2] Records, liber ii., folio 290.

to the short time for preparation and notice, arising from the full habit of body in which the Bishop died, the tokens of respect were not such as would otherwise have been witnessed. Yet as far as information could be imparted, a solicitude was manifested to pay the last sad offices of affectionate regard. All the Episcopal clergy of the city, and some visiting brethren, attended, as did also those of other denominations. The Pall, covered with the Bishop's robes, was borne by the elder of the Clergy, among which were some of the Bishop's old acquaintances and friends. In the procession was the Lieutenant Governor, the Judges of the Courts of the United States, the Mayor, the Recorder, and Members of the Corporation, Gentlemen of the Bar, Physicians, and the members of the different public bodies with which the deceased had been connected, as the Vestry of Trinity Church, Trustees of the College and of the Charity School, together with an immense number of the members of the Church, as well as of other denominations, who, besides the immediate friends and relations attended out of a deeply implanted and long standing regard.

"The procession, headed by the children of the Episcopal Charity School, of which Bishop Provoost had for many years been the protecting guardian and friend, moved at 6 o'clock down Greenwich-street, up Partition-street, and thence down Broadway to Trinity Church. During the whole time the bells in the City were tolled by the orders of the Corporation. As the procession passed St. Paul's, where the family of the Bishop used to attend divine service, the deep toned sound of that noble bell, which appeared to be muffled, seemed to speak the sense of his attendants of his former faithful services, as well as a regret for the happy days that are past, and greatly added to that deep feeling of sorrow, which pervaded the attending multitude.

"When the procession arrived at Trinity Church, after a solemn and mournful dirge from the organ, full service was performed. The Psalms and Lessons were read by the Rev. Mr. How; a sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Harris; and the funeral service was performed at the interment by the Rev. Mr. Jones. The Church was immensely thronged and the effect was deeply solemn and impressive.

"The members present, who had for many years been witnesses of the parochial labors of their departed Rector, bore testimony to the representations of the preacher, when he stated the regular, uniform, unintermitted and conscientious discharge of the duties of the Sanctuary, for which the Bishop was remarkable; his amiable, easy, yet dignified deportment towards all the members of his flock; and especially his charity and kindness to the poor.

"The clergy who had been under his episcopal jurisdiction, bore equal testimony to the representation, of that inflexible integrity, that uniform adherence to principle, that spirit of impartiality, that cool, deliberate judgment in investigating, and that firm, unshaken constancy in executing which appears in every part of Bishop Provoost's administration.

"He sought the happiness of his clergy, as the preacher justly enforced, he studied their comfort: he guarded against any unhappy collisions, or he took the most effective means to heal them. His house ever presented a home to every visiting member of his spiritual family; and they met with a hospitality, and a welcome truly affectionate and parental."[1]

According to the terms of his will, dated August 5, 1802, the Bishop left to his eldest daughter, Susanna Elizabeth, the wife of George Rapelje, and to his daughter Maria, the wife of Cadwalader D. Colden, all his property, real and personal, to be divided equally between them, subject to the payment of an annuity of $125 to his son, Bousfield Provoost.[2]

The following reminiscences of the Bishop by Dr. Duer are of special interest, coming as they do from the pen of one who knew the Bishop so well and so intimately.

"Devout without ostentation, stately without pride, dignified without austerity, he commanded the respect and esteem both of his clergy and the people—and he won the friendship and affections of all admitted to his intimacy. . . . Besides being a learned and sound divine, he was a polite scholar and accomplished gentleman. He read the noble Liturgy of his Church with critical accuracy without impairing the devotional spirit it is so well calculated to excite. As a preacher he was not so happy. His deliberate sonorous declamation was better adapted to the reading desk than the pulpit. Although his enunciation was distinct as well as forcible, yet his sermons were delivered so emphatically—*ore rotundo*, that the exertion thus induced, together with his plethoric habit, rendered the public services of the Church tedious and laborious

[1] *New-York Evening Post*, September 11, 1815.

[2] Wills, Surrogate's Office, New York. Liber 52, folio 392. (In old Liber, folio 461.)

to himself and to his hearers. But it is by no means certain that these circumstances did not tend to the improvement of his sermons by rendering them shorter. In private life the Bishop, though studious and retired in his habits, and in mixed companies oppressed by diffidence, was certainly more agreeable, and a greater favorite than in public life. He possessed a vein of genuine humor, which gave zest to his conversation without infringing upon clerical or conventional propriety—and the playfulness of his manner when surrounded by his family and intimate friends, was quite captivating. He was particularly condescending and attractive in his intercourse with the young; with whose tastes and feelings, from the simplicity of his own character, he could more easily sympathize. I shall ever gratefully remember his kindness to me as a boy, and the companion of his sons.

"He would frequently admit us all to his study—the upper room in the back building of the house which stood at the corner of Nassau and Fair (now Fulton) street, where the large establishment of the Sun newspaper has been since erected—when he would show us his rarest and most valuable prints, exhibit to us the objects of his microscope, and divert himself with our youthful wonderment; and sometimes of a bright starlight evening, he would display to us the more fascinating wonders of his telescope, and from his serious and impressive explanations he seemed to derive a graver and more holy pleasure from our curiosity and admiration. I thought, at that time, that Bishop Provoost was perfection itself, but before many years had elapsed, I discovered that he was but a man. His faults, however, were those of one whom he resembled both in character and station. Like Eli of old he was ever indulgent to his sons—and like Eli, he was punished by their loss."[1]

In person, Bishop Provoost was of about medium height, stately and dignified in manner, and with a kind and intellectual face. In accomplishments he was a fine classical scholar, having an accurate knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He could converse fluently in Italian, French, and German;—and, as his sermons show, was well acquainted with ecclesiastical history and church polity. Readers of his sermons have found them remarkable for

[1] *Reminiscences of an Old Yorker*, by the late William A. Duer, LL.D., President of Columbia College, p. 16.

brevity and force of diction. It is true that, unlike Dr. Hobart, he did not defend the dogmas or polity of the Church, and that none of his sermons were controversial; but in the lessons they conveyed to his hearers he always assumes as granted the fundamental verities of the Christian faith, the Apostolic Succession of the ministry, and the cardinal dogmas of the Church; they are simple in style; he never airs his knowledge of outside matters although its range was wide, he is neither pedantic nor diffuse; in fact, his sermons are more modern in style than even those of his immediate successors, Bishops Moore and Hobart, and totally unlike the ponderous orations of the English Bishops of the Georgian period.

To his business qualities, the state of Trinity Corporation as he left it, as compared to its condition when he assumed its rectorship, bears witness; the most casual reader of the Records perceives the difference at once between the minutes of the proceedings either under his predecessor or his successor.

The trusted friend of Washington, John Adams, Jay, Hamilton, Chancellor Livingston, and Duane, he was able to guide the fortunes of the American Church in a period of great perplexity into a safe harbor of prosperity.

To his personal influence and popularity as the "Patriot Bishop" was largely due the overruling of the determination of the Legislature to confiscate the property of the Corporation. To that fact may also be traced the commanding influence which the Church had during his Rectorship in New York. The old distrust of it as a "piece of baggage left behind them by the British troops" had died out, and instead of that distrust, and almost hate, there had sprung up in American hearts a love and veneration for their Church as an American institution, and a desire to extend her boundaries beyond both the city and

State of New York. Debates in conventions, committee meetings, legacies, benefactions, and erection of church edifices attest the growth of the love and veneration of Church people for their infant Church, and the respect with which it was held by the different religious organizations around it, and by the community at large.

A portrait of the first Bishop of New York, painted by Benjamin West, hangs in the Vestry-room of Trinity Chapel. Trinity Church contains a window to his memory, and a panel on its bronze doors shows the effigy of the Bishop, on the occasion of his receiving the first President of the United States, at the entrance to St. Paul's Chapel, immediately after his inauguration.

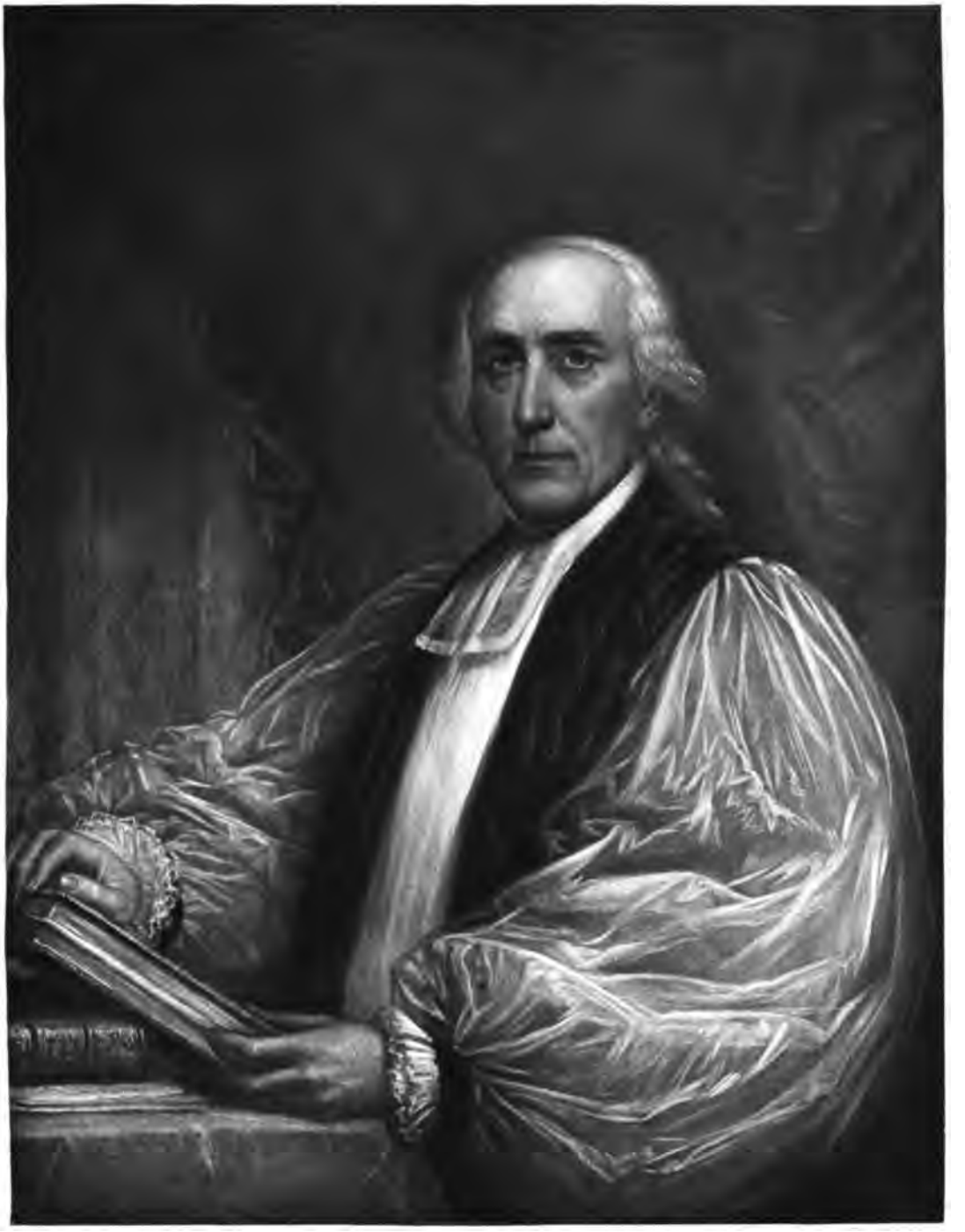
CHAPTER XVI.

DR. MOORE'S PLATFORSHIP.

[illegible] College—Proceeds to [illegible] Assistant Minister—[illegible] University of New York—[illegible] h to be Clos[illegible] during [illegible] Institution of Society for [illegible] Trustees [illegible] it and Grant of [illegible] Assistant Minister—Distri[illegible] Statistics for 1803-4—Election [illegible] Y. How—Donation to Miss [illegible] Dr. B[illegible] as his Assistant.

B[illegible] was born [illegible] Newtown, Long [illegible] 1748. H[illegible] ts were Samuel and Sa[illegible] named [illegible] om Thomas de Moore, [illegible] Willi[illegible] on queror to England. [illegible] Thomas [illegible] found on the [illegible] arked at [illegible] and he survived [illegible]

[illegible] ancestor of [illegible] wn family was [illegible] Moore, an[illegible] t Minister, and [illegible] ement, "h[illegible] ermitted in New [illegible] but not [illegible] administer Sacra[illegible] ciat[illegible] ers dying in 1657. [illegible] Benjamin was the [illegible] Riker's *Annals of* [illegible] he [illegible] despaired of his [illegible] for [illegible] brothers took a keen



The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, L.L.D.
Appointed Rector in 1783, became Rector December 22nd, 1800.
Consecrated Bishop of New York, 1801. Died February 27th, 1816.

CHAPTER XVI.

DR. MOORE'S RECTORSHIP.

Benjamin Moore's Birth and Ancestry—Graduates at King's College—Proceeds to England for Ordination—Ordained Deacon and Priest—Elected Assistant Minister—His Marriage—President of Columbia College—Regent of University of New York—Elected Rector 1783—Consecrated Bishop—Doors of Church to be Closed during Elections—Mr. Cave Jones Elected Assistant Minister—Institution of Society for Advancement of Religion and Learning—Election of Trustees for it and Grant of Lots—Benefactions to Rev. R. G. Whitmore—Grants to Assistant Ministers—Distribution of Hobart's *Companion to the Altar*—Parochial Statistics for 1803-4—Election of Rev. N. Bowen as Assistant—and of Rev. Thomas Y. How—Donation to Miss Seabury—Bishop Moore Struck by Paralysis—Appoints Dr. Beach as his Assistant.

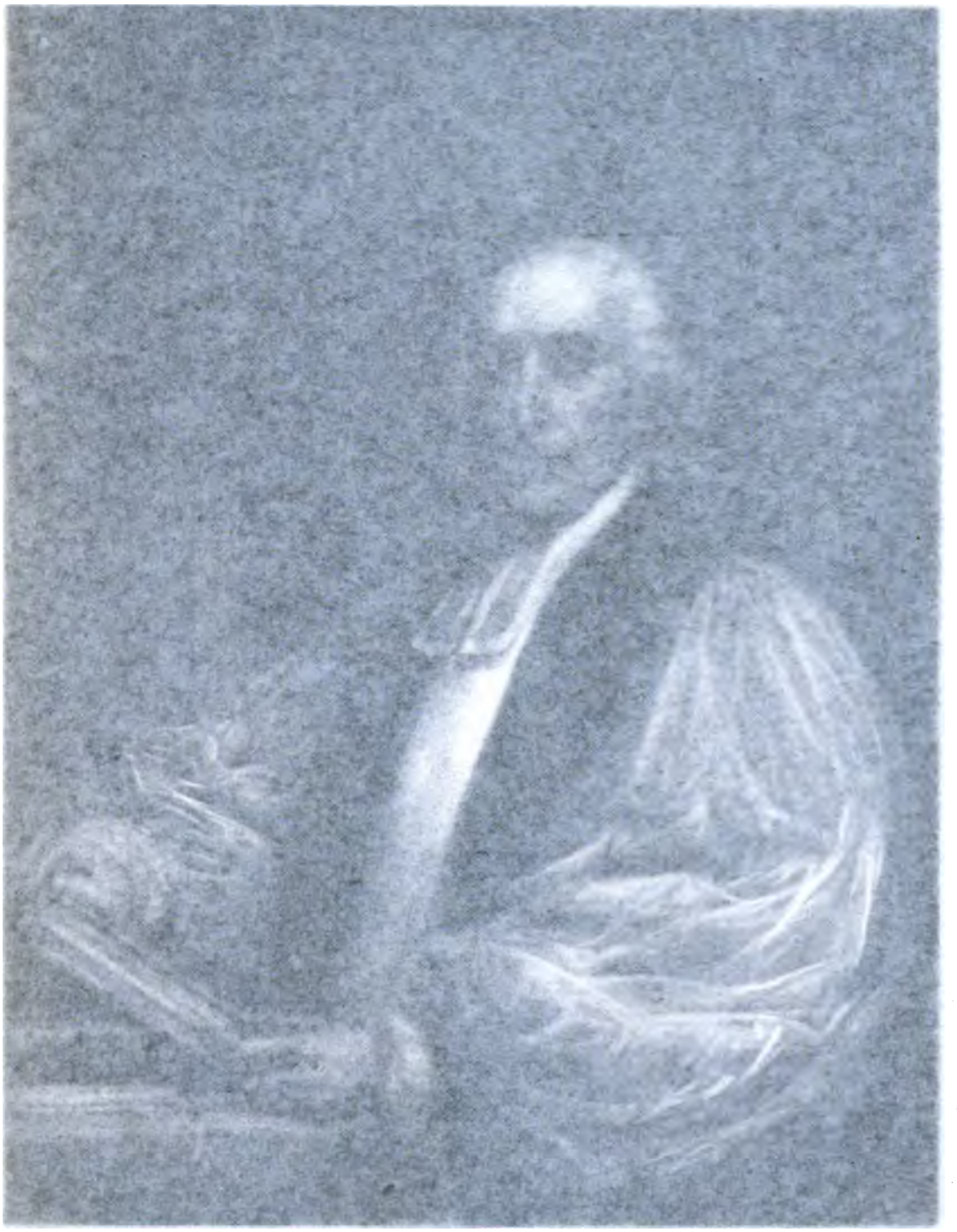
BENJAMIN MOORE was born at Newtown, Long Island, October 5, 1748. His parents were Samuel and Sarah Moore. He claimed descent from Thomas de Moore, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England. The name of Thomas de Moore is found on the list of those who embarked at St. Valery; and he survived the battle of Hastings.

The immediate ancestor of the Newtown family was the Reverend John Moore, an Independent Minister, and the first in the settlement, "having been permitted in New England to preach, but not authorized to administer Sacraments." He thus officiated for many years, dying in 1657.

Biographies differ as to whether Benjamin was the second or eldest child. According to Riker's *Annals of Newtown*, he was the eldest son.[1]

It is said of him that his parents despaired of his success in the world; for while his brothers took a keen

[1] P. 333.



interest in farming matters, young Benjamin was of a quiet temperament and overfond of books. Being permitted to follow his tastes and inclinations, he was sent to King's College, where he graduated with honor in 1768. He then prepared for the ministry under the supervision of Dr. Auchmuty and in 1774 proceeded to England, where he was ordained deacon June 24, 1774, and priest, on June 29th by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, as the certified extract from the Registry of the Diocese of London proves.[1]

The circumstances have already been related (Part I., 362–4) under which he was elected an Assistant Minister to Trinity Parish, in February, 1775, Dr. Auchmuty at that date being the Rector.

Mr. Moore continued to serve as Assistant Minister under the Rectorship of Dr. Inglis, and was elected Rector in 1783.[2] On March 20, 1779, he married Miss Charity Clarke.

His relations to King's, now Columbia, College were intimate and continuous for many years. Upon the flight of Dr. Cooper, May 10, 1775, Mr. Moore, an alumnus of the College, and now in Holy Orders, was appointed by the Governor *Præses pro tempore*, it being supposed that Dr. Cooper might return; and upon the reorganization of the College after the Revolutionary War, with four faculties, Arts, Divinity, Medicine, and Law, Mr. Moore was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Logic (1784–7). He was a member of the Board of Regents of the University of New York, 1787-1802. In 1789 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Columbia College. December 31, 1801, he was appointed to the office of President of the College, which he had held *ad interim* more than twenty-six years

[1] Appendix XIV. [2] Part I., p. 443.

before. He continued in that office until May 11, 1811, and was also a Trustee from 1802 to 1813.[1]

Mention has already been made of his election to the Rectorship in 1783, the setting aside of that Rectorship, and the election of Dr. Provoost in his place; it has also been shown how on the nomination of Bishop Provoost he was finally called to the Rectorship, December 22, 1800. No doubt Dr. Moore had done much during the term of Dr. Provoost's Rectorship to win over by his quiet behavior and modesty those previously opposed to him on political grounds. He appears to have been the model of a gentle, amiable, and unassuming Christian.

The consecration of Dr. Moore took place at Trenton, New Jersey, September 11, 1801.

"Tuesday the Right Rev. Bishop Moore, D.D., returned to this city from Trenton, after receiving Episcopal Consecration by the Right Reverend Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis; to which sacred office he had been unanimously elected by both Clergy and Laity in the convention of the Episcopal Church, in the State of New York, lately held in this city; in consequence of the resignation of the Jurisdiction over said Church by the Right Reverend Bishop Provoost. From the well known talents, zeal and activity of Bishop Moore, and the harmony and unanimity which prevailed among all the Delegates from the different parts of the State, the members of the Church may indulge the pleasures of hope, that as the sphere of his influence is now very considerably extended, the most happy consequences will result to every congregation in her communion, by the blessings of God upon his pious labours."[2]

Attention has already been called to the vacillating action of the House of Bishops in refusing to admit that Bishop Provoost was by virtue of his resignation no longer *de jure* Bishop of New York—and stipulating that if Dr. Moore was to be consecrated it must be as a Coadjutor.

[1] *An Historical Sketch of Columbia College in the City of New York*, By Nathaniel F. Moore. New York, 1846.

[2] *The Commercial Advertiser*, September 14, 1801.

Yet at Trenton, as appears from the official record of the General Convention for 1801, Dr. Moore was consecrated not as Bishop Coadjutor but as Bishop. The Certificate of Consecration reads that Bishops White, Claggett, and Jarvis consecrated Dr. Moore

"into the office of Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, to which the said Benjamin Moore, D.D., hath been elected by the Convention of the said State, in consequence of the inability of the Right Rev. Bishop Provoost, and of his declining all Episcopal Jurisdiction within the said State."[1]

This certificate certainly justified Bishop Moore and the Diocese of New York in considering that Bishop Provoost had ceased *de jure* as well as *de facto* to be Bishop of New York.

The remarks made as to the lack of MSS. and papers in the case of the first Bishop of New York may be repeated as to the second. Diligent search has been made wherever it was thought that such papers could be found, but neither among Diocesan records nor family collections have any been discovered. The minutes of the Corporation during the Rectorship of Dr. Moore are unusually scant; consisting for the most part of a monotonous list of applications from different persons or congregations for grants of money or land, and of the liberal response to them by the Corporation. Some of the Records are worth transcribing; here, for instance, is a resolution of the Board directing that in no case were the inner doors of the Church to be opened during State or city elections. The object of this resolution was to prevent electioneering and canvassing within the sacred edifice. The outer doors were open; but the space between them and the inner ones, forming a lobby, was circumscribed enough in

[1] *A Half-Century of the Legislation of the American Church*, vol. i, p. 278.

area to prevent voters from collecting in considerable numbers.[1]

On the 12th of January, 1801, Mr. Cave Jones was elected as Assistant Minister on the same terms as Mr. Hobart.[2] The letter of acceptance from Mr. Jones is spread on the minutes of February 9th.[3]

The election of this gentleman was destined to lead to most disagreeable results, as will be seen hereafter.

August 16, 1802, we find that

"A plan for instituting a Society for the advancement of Religion and Learning was proposed to consist of Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church and to be stiled the Protestant Episcopal Society for promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York, was read, considered by Paragraphs, and agreed to by the Board."

The Board then proceeded to elect the first Trustees, twenty in number. The Rev. Dr. Beach, the Rev. Dr. Bowden, the Rev. Mr. Hobart, the Rev. Mr. Jones, John Charlton, Peter Kemble, Robert Watts, John Onderdonk, Frederick De Peyster, Richard Harison, Jacob Le Roy, Francis B. Winthrop, Matthew Clarkson, Harman Le Roy, William Jauncey, Rev. Mr. Pilmore, the Rev. Mr. Harris, William M. Seton, Martin Hoffman, and John Jones.

The Constitution of this Society is given in full on folio 178 and consists of eleven clauses; the 6th is as follows:

"VI. The following are to be considered as the objects of the Society, that is to say — the adopting of measures to ensure a sufficient number and succession of pious and learned Ministers of the Gospel attached to the excellent doctrines and discipline of the protestant Episcopal Church; to afford assistance to such young men as are of good character and competent abilities, but in circumstances which do not admit of prosecuting the study of divinity without aid; to encourage those who may distinguish themselves by extraordinary attainments, to receive all

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 114. [2] *Ibid.*, folio 107. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 108.

donations for pious purposes and to superintend the applications of them; gradually to provide funds for the procuring of a theological library; for the establishment of Schools and of one or more Fellowships in Columbia College; in a word to pursue a system of measures whereby the Situation of the Clergy may be rendered respectable, the Church obtain a permanent support, and learning and Piety be generally diffused throughout the State.

On September 13, 1802, the Committee on Leases reported that a number of lots, twenty-two in all, could be assigned to the said Society, producing a revenue of $1000 a year. The report was accepted, and on October 11th following, an additional grant of lots was made to the institution; further grants were made to it from time to time, until the total amounted to about £21,000 in money and twenty-eight lots of land.

On April 4, 1839, this Society was, by Act of the Legislature, incorporated as the "Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York." It continues to this day as the Diocesan Agent for the Education of Candidates for the Ministry, and as such has done a great work in aiding young men in Hobart College, Columbia University, the General Theological Seminary and St. Stephen's College, Annandale. In fact, the last-named institution has been maintained by it for many years, and would not have been enabled to continue its work but for the Society.

All this and other good things have been the result of the original donation by the corporation of Trinity Church.

As an example of considerate generosity the following is worth recording:

"A letter from R. G. Whitmore, Clergyman of Duansborough, stating his ill health and his necessities, was read, and thereupon resolved that two hundred and fifty Dollars be given to him and the Rector be authorized to inform him that if he should require any further

assistance he can draw on the Treasurer for a further sum not exceeding two hundred dollars."[1]

On June 14, 1804, the salaries of the Assistant Ministers were raised to £700 each.[2]

On August 9, 1804, five hundred copies of Mr. Hobart's *Companion to the Altar* were ordered to be purchased and delivered to the Bishop for distribution.

In the Hobart MSS., in the custody of the Registrar to the General Convention, are several returns from different parishes throughout the State. Among them is one from Dr. Moore, as Rector of Trinity Church for the year October 1, 1803, to October 1, 1804. He reports for the Parish, "Baptisms, 378; Communicants, about 1000; Marriages, 115; Funerals, 400."

On December 24, 1807, the Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, of Charleston, South Carolina, was called as Assistant Minister[3]; an offer which he declined, accepting the same year the Rectorship of the new Grace Church, which position he occupied till the year 1818, when he was elected to the See of South Carolina. On June 9, 1808, the Rector was authorized to engage the Rev. James Chapman, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, for the period of six months, which engagement was renewed at the end of that term for another six months.[4]

On July 14, 1808, the Rev. Thomas Y. How was chosen Assistant Minister.[5]

On February 8, 1810, the destitute condition of Miss Seabury, the daughter of the late Bishop Seabury, having been represented to the Board, a donation of one hundred and fifty dollars was paid to her, which at the close of the year, December 13th, was continued for another year.[6]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 113.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, folios 150, 177.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 178.
[5] *Ibid.*, folio 179.
[6] *Ibid.*, folios 200, 201.

The last event of note during Dr. Moore's life was the conforming, on March 22, 1810, of the Zion Lutheran Congregation, then in Mott Street. On the following day its Minister, Ralph Williston, was ordained by the Bishop.

The Bishop suffered a stroke of paralysis in February, 1811. Taking advantage of the clause in the charter providing for the appointment of an "Assistant to the Rector," he nominated Dr. Beach as such assistant,[1] which nomination being approved of by the Vestry, Dr. Beach took his place as presiding officer of the Vestry; nor did Dr. Moore from that day, March 13, 1811, preside at any meeting of the Corporation.

With this date may be said to close both the *de facto* Rectorship and the Episcopate of Dr. Moore. Thenceforth he was confined to his room, suffering from great feebleness and from repeated attacks of paralysis; and for the next two ensuing years Dr. Beach was virtually the Rector.

[1] See Part I., p. 461.

CHAPTER XVII.

TRINITY THE MOTHER OF CHURCHES.

Policy of Dr. Provoost Continued — Beginnings of St. John's Chapel — Room near Brannon Street—Location in Hudson Street Selected—Plans for New Church Adopted —Work Stopped Owing to Insecure Foundation—Site Changed to that on Hudson Square—Description of Site — Church Consecrated—Cost of Church — Beginnings of Grace Church — Committee Appointed to Select a Site — Purchase of Property from Lutherans — Deputation from Grace Church — Gift of an Organ—St. George's Chapel Set off as a Parish — Questions Propounded by St. George's Congregation — Assurance Given by Corporation—Endowed by Trinity—Destroyed by Fire—Rebuilt by the Corporation—Cost of Rebuilding—Endowment of St. Stephen's Church—Application from the Romanists—From the Free School—Endowment of Christ Church—Grant to Miss Seabury—To the New York Society Library—Expenditures for 1809–10.

NO title was ever more justly bestowed than that of "the Mother of Churches," borne for many years by our venerable Parish. The policy of aiding with impartial and generous hand wherever aid was needed in extending the work of the Kingdom of Christ in this city and throughout the State, begun under the Rectorship of Dr. Provoost, was continued throughout the administration of Dr. Moore. Trinity Church had now been rebuilt; St.-Mark's-Church-in-the-Bowery had been built and endowed; and liberal grants were made to parishes and congregations wherever aid was needed, not only to our people, but to Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics in the City of New York. The Corporation were wise enough to find in the growth of the metropolis a strong incentive to planning for the future; in fact, they were always in advance of the less clear-sighted public, and frequently came in for criticism of what was considered as the folly of credulous imagination.

The lack of foresight among the people in general at that period was not only conspicuous but amusing. It is well known that when the City Hall was built, the front and sides were covered with white marble, while the back of the edifice was left in red sandstone, it being supposed that few persons would ever go far enough north to see that part of the structure. What is now Canal Street was formerly a sluggish waterway, draining the ponds to the eastward into the North River; the land adjacent being marshy, and famous for woodcock. It demanded no little keenness of foresight and strength of mind on the part of the Corporation to decide on building a very large and handsome church near the Lispenard Meadows; and tradition says that their folly in going so far off for a site brought down on them the derision of many level-headed and practical citizens. Nevertheless the thing was done, and well done as the event showed.

We come to the date of the erection of St. John's Chapel. A simple entry on the minutes gives the first intimation of the design:

On September 13, 1802, the Board came to a resolution

"That a Room be hired by the Rector for the assembling of Persons to attend Public worship in the neighborhood of Brannon Street and that benches be provided for the accommodation of such assembly"[1]

On the following February 10th, it was decided that the square at the corner of Duane, Hudson, and Jay streets be reserved for the new church.[2] A month afterwards, however, the Committee were asked to consider Hudson Street as offering a more suitable site.[3] The change was approved, and an order made that the new church be commenced immediately.[4]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 132.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 133.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 135.

On May 12th, several plans having been laid before the Vestry, one prepared by John and Isaac McComb was adopted. Upon a discovery that it would be necessary to drive piles in order to secure a foundation, further work was stopped, and it was finally decided to build on the east side of Hudson Square.[1]

Concerning this site, Dr. Berrian in his *Historical Sketch* makes the following remarks:

"This was on the very verge of a place as unsuitable as possible for a substantial Edifice. It was probably in view of this difficulty that the Vestry made an order in the following year, that the Committee of leases should have the pond filled up on the east side of Lispenard's garden, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the situation proposed for St. John's Church. Indeed, it would be almost incredible to the persons of the present generation, to hear from those who are older, their recollections of the past in regard to this quarter of the city. It was a wild and marshy spot of no inconsiderable extent, surrounded with bushes and bulrushes, which in winter was a favourite place for skaters, and at certain seasons for gunners, and where in my boyhood I have seen snakes that were killed on its borders. Indeed, even so late as 1808, it was only so partially filled up and reclaimed by the elevation of the grounds for the course of streets, and the consequent multiplication of ponds in various directions, as to have been the occasion at night of many a sad disaster, and a frequent loss of human life."[2]

Dr. Berrian goes on to state that the land in this neighborhood at the commencement of this century was held to be of so little value that the Trustees of the Lutheran Church declined a gift of six acres of it, on the ground that it would not pay to fence it in.

Such is the dismal picture drawn of this site by my venerable predecessor. How great, how marvellous was the transformation, as the city grew and grew! The place became the Court end of the town. St. John's Chapel faced a charming pleasure-ground, in which grew noble trees, representing almost every variety found in our native

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 139. [2] Page 216.

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! The place
St. John's Chapel
which grew noble
found in our native

St. John's Chapel was commenced in 1803, completed in 1807
and consecrated that same year.
It has been three times altered or enlarged.

forests. This park was surrounded by the residences of the wealthiest and most fashionable members of New York society; and on the east side was one of the noblest ecclesiastical edifices in the city, with lofty spire, and deep porch receding from its massive colonnade of stone, a building still imposing, and admired even in its slow dilapidation and decay.

The report on the state of St. John's Church was presented on May 14, 1807. It recommended that

"the Church be opened for public worship with as little Delay as may be — that the Committee of Pews be authorized to fix an annual Rent upon the several Pews of that Church, and that the said Pews be sold by public Auction in the said Church for the Term of three years and no longer, subject to such Rents — also that during the said Term, St. John's Church be retained under the control of this Corporation; and that an additional Minister be engaged for the same term to enable the Rector to have divine service regularly performed in this and the other Churches under his care."[1]

The Church was consecrated by Bishop Moore in 1807. The total cost of the building was $172,833. The organ alone cost $8000: the original cost was $6000, but a fine of $2000 had to be paid to redeem it from the British, who had captured it on the high seas, on its way from Philadelphia.

Up to the year 1799 the City of New York constituted but one parish. The original style of the Corporation was, "The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York of the Communion of the Church of England."

But it was impossible, as the city grew, that this condition of things should last, and the process of disintegration did actually commence, as we have seen, in the irregular founding of a new parish by the friends and admirers of the Rev. Mr. Pilmore, known as Christ Church. The foundation of another, styled Grace Church, is now to be

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 171.

related; and, although we anticipate, it may be observed that this tendency to break the unity of parochial life gave uneasiness to the Corporation. For there was good cause to fear lest the parishes thus taking rise outside the old lines might still consider themselves as having vested rights in the original establishment, notwithstanding their separate corporate existence, and thereafter set up a claim to a share of its property. The Vestry, therefore, while making no further objection to the erection of new parishes within their own limits, which were those of the city, and while aiding their incipient efforts by liberal grants of money and land, took occasion to protect themselves by requiring quit-claim deeds from the receivers of their bounty, and were finally compelled, for their more complete protection, to seek and obtain a change in their corporate name, so that it should appear that none of the "Inhabitants of the City of New York" had rights in the Parish unless in actual membership and communicants in the Church or some one of its chapels. It is an interesting history; because the impression long prevailed that every member of the Episcopal Church in New York was *ipso facto* a member of Trinity Parish and entitled to vote therein, at the Easter election, for Churchwardens and Vestrymen. This wild notion was actually entertained by some ill-informed persons as late as the year 1857, when the well-known assault upon the old Mother of the Churches was made under the leadership, or at least with the active co-operation, of two of the noblest, purest, and best men that ever lived, William Augustus Muhlenberg and Robert B. Minturn. If the view referred to had prevailed under the sanction of law, an amazing sight would have been presented: that of the election of the Vestry of Trinity Church at an annual mass-meeting of Episcopalians coming from all the parishes on Manhattan Island,

and posing for the nonce as members of Trinity Parish and arbiters of its fate.

To return to the founding of Grace Church. The following extracts from the minutes show the action of the Corporation:[1]

"June 8, 1801.

"On motion, resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed to enquire as to the expediency of building another Church, as also the most eligible situation for the erecting of the same, and to report thereon at the next meeting of this board, and that Messrs. William Bayard, Andrew Hamersly, William Laight, Jacob Le Roy and John Onderdonk be the Committee."[2]

"March 8, 1802.

"The Committee to whom was referred the consideration of building another Church reported as follows: The Committee to whom was referred for consideration the proposition for the establishment of another Episcopal Church to be built in the City of New York, having maturely considered thereon do report that from the many and respectable applicants for pews, which cannot be furnished them in the existing churches, they think it expedient that another be founded, which from the opinion of counsel, can be done similar to that of St. Mark's without endangering the Charter of the Mother Church. Whereupon, it was resolved that the said report be accepted and that the Committee who brought in the report be authorized to enquire for a proper situation to erect a Church."[3]

There was at that time a Lutheran congregation which owned a lot fronting on Broadway, on the corner south of Trinity Church, opposite the churchyard.

The Committee having reported on March 8, 1802,[4] that it was expedient to found another church, an order was made.

"that the Committee for procuring a Lot for a Church be authorized to treat with the Trustees of the Lutheran Congregation for their Lot on Broadway."

[1] See Appendix XIV. for contemporary account of the opening of Grace Church.
[2] Records, liber ii., folio 114. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 121. [4] *Ibid.*, folio 121.

On June 22, 1804,[1] the Board decided to purchase the lot belonging to the Lutherans, and placed on record that it was the

"intention of this Corporation that the Ground for a new Church be bought in Trust for a Protestant Episcopal Corporation to be hereafter instituted—that the Board will provide for paying the Purchase money, but do not mean to have any Estate in the Lot, either in Law or Equity; and they recommend to the Committee to have it conveyed to Trustees until such Corporation shall be organized."

On August 9, 1804, the Committee reported the terms upon which the property could be purchased, and the Board agreed to purchase on the terms proposed.[2]

The new Church appears to have been organized in 1808.

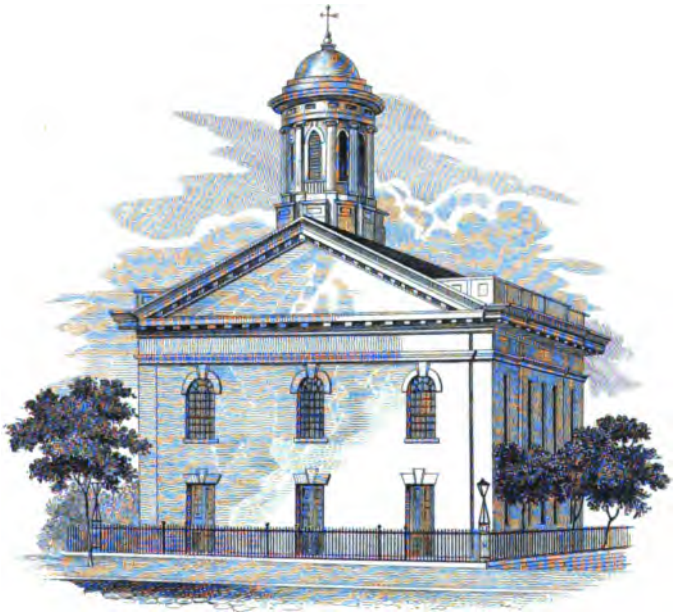
On January 12, 1809,

"A Deputation from the Vestry of Grace Church, consisting of Messrs. Nicholas Low and Herman Le Roy the Church Wardens and David B. Ogden was received, who expressed the Thanks of that Church to this Board for their Liberality towards it, the Disposition entertained by the Members of it to promote the Prosperity of the Corporation as well as the Union and Interests of the Church in general, and a Readiness to pay over the Money arising from the Sales of Pews in Grace Church to the Treasurer of this Board in confidence that the Board will give an Equivalent in real Estate for the same.

"Ordered that the Committee of Leases make a selection of Lots which afford rent in Proportion to their probable Value to be conveyed to the Use of the Said Church upon the Usual Conditions."[3]

On February 9th following, the Board recommended that twenty-five lots be conveyed to Grace Church in consideration of the sum of $30,000.[4] In the year following, the Corporation, at the request of Grace Church, gave them $5000 for an organ.

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 148.
[2] *Ibid.*, folios 150, 156.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 182.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 183.



GRACE CHURCH — BROADWAY.

Until Grace Church was provided with a Rector, services appear to have been maintained there by the Rector and Clergy of Trinity. We have an ancient volume in the handwriting of Bishop Moore containing a "*Roster*" or "*Routine*" for the Clergy, in which they are assigned for duty to Trinity, St. Paul's, St. George's, and Grace, alternately. This arrangement, of course, was of brief duration, but it indicates the closeness of the original relation of the two Churches.

The founding of Grace Church was soon followed by a movement to set off St. George's Chapel as a distinct Corporation. This was the oldest Chapel of the Parish, built in 1751–2, and opened for divine worship July 1, 1752. Conferences were held from time to time between the representatives of St. George's and the Corporation, in 1811, looking to a dissolution of the connection of the Chapel with the Mother Church.

The representatives of the Chapel propounded a veritable catechism of questions as to what the Board would do under all possible eventualities; they were evidently rather fearful of cutting adrift entirely from the Corporation and losing the advantage of future assistance from it.

"Are the Congregation of St. George's Chapel," they ask, "to look upon themselves as a branch of the Family of Trinity Church? and in case their funds should be found to be inadequate to defraying the yearly expenses, keeping the Church in repair, or rebuilding their property, if injured or destroyed by fire, will the Vestry of Trinity Church continue to view said Chapel as the eldest child of the Family, entitled to every needful assistance?" [1]

Having received all needful assurances, and, especially, that Trinity Church "will always be disposed, according to their abilities, to assist St. George's in their necessities," the new Church set forth on its career as an independent corporation.

[1] Records, liber ii., folios 218–220.

Trinity munificently endowed its eldest daughter with thirty-three lots, yielding then an aggregate income of $4020 a year; besides which endowment the Mother Church gave the Communion-plate and paid for an iron railing and others improvements, spending thus an additional sum of $5104.

The present Rector of St. George's Church states, with expressions of strong feeling, that when he took charge of that Parish in 1883 he found remaining only two lots out of the thirty-three with which that Parish had started seventy years before.[1] If that property had been retained, what an ample endowment would it have constituted to-day!

St. George's Church had not long to wait before putting the good faith of Trinity Corporation to the test. One of the dreaded eventualities came to pass. The new Church was destroyed by fire in 1814. An application was immediately made by the congregation of St. George's for assistance in rebuilding their Church.[2] Upon the favorable report of a Committee of the Vestry, February 14th, it was

"Resolved that this Corporation will agree to rebuild Saint George's Church upon the original plan except as to the Steeple, which is to be replaced by a Tower, upon condition that they be allowed to sell all the pews on the ground floor, excepting twelve single pews nearest to the doors, at public Auction subject to a reasonable rent, and to apply the proceeds of such sales towards the reimbursement of the expenses of the building, those twelve pews and all the pews in the gallery being left at the disposal of the Vestry of Saint George's."[3]

From the Treasurer's account of that year it appears that the amount expended during the current year for the building of the new church and Rector's house was

[1] *Narrative of Events Connected with Bicentennial Celebration of Trinity Church*, p. 178. [2] Records, liber ii., folio 260. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 261.

$30,964. There being no entry on the credit side, it is reasonable to suppose that this sum represents the balance expended after accounting for the receipts from sales of pews.

Lots of land to the value of $7192 were granted to St. Stephen's Church, New York, December 24, 1807.[1]

The Roman Church, remembering the benefits it had received in former years from the Trinity Corporation, came forward for further assistance. On November 7, 1810,

"an application from Thomas Stoughton and Andrew Morris on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church was read, whereupon Resolved that the above Gentlemen be informed that the Situation of our own Churches in Communion with it, create an Impossibility of complying with their Request."[2]

On December 13, 1810, the Trustees of the Free School applied for a grant of land on which to erect a building, whereupon the Corporation at a subsequent meeting granted them two lots for that purpose.[3]

On December 11, 1804, it had been

"Resolved that the value of ten thousand dollars be given to Christ Church in this City, in Real Estate."[4]

And five years afterwards, on November 10, 1809, the minutes record that the Committee reported,

"That it would be advisable at some future Period to appropriate Lots of ground to Christ Church in this City to the value of seven thousand five hundred Dollars and that until such Appropriation takes Place, the sum of five hundred Dollars per Annum be paid towards the Support of the Rector of said Church. Resolved that this Said Report be accepted."[5]

On February 26, 1812, a further donation of $150 was granted to Miss Seabury.[6]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 175.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 199.
[3] *Ibid.*, folios 201 and 203.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 150.
[5] *Ibid.*, folio 192.
[6] *Ibid.*, folio 227.

On March 14, 1814,

"A Letter was presented to the Vestry from the reverend N. Bowen and others a Committee on behalf of the New York Protestant Episcopal Literary Society praying Transfer of the Books comprising the Library now in Saint Paul's Chapel, it was thereupon resolved that such a request be complied with on condition that the said Society become incorporated according to Law—"[1]

The Society did become incorporated and is now the "New York Society Library" on University Place.

The following items of expenditure as presented by the Treasurer, for the period March 24, 1809, to April 14, 1810, may prove of interest as showing what the revenue then was, and to what purposes the Corporation devoted it.

Paid on account of the building Grace Church	$12130.20
Lutheran Corporation. Balance on the Purchase of ground for Grace Church	13379.80
Messrs. Costers for monies borrowed	16067.50
Estate T. Turner Money refunded on Sale Lot of Ground.	197.63
City Corporation for Taxes	384.02
Repairs of Churches and Fence for the new burial Ground,	3599.93
On account of Salaries including the usual Donations	18032.00
Donations to Clergymen, etc., including the Amounts to Dr. Provoost	4533.75
Donations to Sundry Churches	9397.50
Interest on Money borrowed	853.
Filling in ground and inclosing Hudson Square	1378.44
For printing Journal of the Convention Books and Sermons	597.44
Sexton's accounts for Fuel, Cleaning the Churches and sweeping Streets	523.20
Tallow Chandler's Bill for Candles	226.11
Attorneys' Bills	177.
Surveyors', Printers' Bills and various small Charges	433.
	$81870.52
Balance Cash in the Treasury	67.80
14th April, 1810	$81938.32[2]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 262.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 202.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JOHN HENRY HOBART.

Continuation of Provoost's Policy by Dr. Beach—Evidences of a New Policy—John Henry Hobart—His Birth and Ancestry—Early Education—Graduates at Princeton—Becomes Tutor—Ordained Deacon—Takes Charge of Christ Church, Oxford, and All Saints', Perkiomen—Called as Assistant Minister, St. Paul's, Philadelphia—Declines the Call—Accepts Christ Church, New Brunswick—Resigns and Accepts St. George's, Hempstead—His Marriage—Called as Assistant Minister, Trinity Parish—Moves to New York—The Hobart MSS.—Letter to Mother—Love of Declamation—Delivers Oration at Princeton—Expenses at Princeton—Warm Friendships Formed—His Character and Disposition at College—Death of Abraham Skinner—Character of his Mother's Letters—Restlessness of Young Hobart—Announces his Engagement to his Mother—Moves to Hempstead—Is Dissatisfied—Prudent Advice from his Mother—Hobart's Straitened Circumstances—Call to Trinity Parish—Letter from Dr. Moore—Has Confidence of Bishop Provoost—Moves to New York—Early Character and Disposition.

DURING the whole of Dr. Moore's Rectorship, Dr. Beach was the guiding spirit of the administration up to the time when, in 1813, he resigned the office of Assistant to the Rector. His long term of service, dating from June, 1784, gave him an acknowledged pre-eminence in the counsels of the Board and the many institutions that already clustered round the Corporation of Trinity Church. The trusted and loyal friend of Dr. Provoost became the right-hand man of Dr. Moore. The seclusion in which Dr. Moore was obliged to live made Dr. Beach Rector *de facto*, even before his appointment in 1811 as the Rector's Assistant. To this fact may be attributed the continuity of policy under Dr. Provoost's Rectorship, and through the legal Rectorship of Dr. Moore.

But in the closing years of Dr. Moore's administration,

the careful reader of the minutes perceives the signs of coming change. The policy of Dr. Provoost was well adapted to a period of transition; careful and conservative, it had regard to the protection of the trust, the prudent management of the finances, and the building and endowment of churches. Out of the storm of the Revolution, the Anglican Establishment came, much battered and damaged throughout the country. Its enemies predicted its early disappearance from the scene, and among its friends were some who avowed their fears that it must decline from little to less and finally become extinct. A power was needed, especially at the central point of Church life, to meet the emergency, and save an institution, which, though of divine origin, needed just then some reinforcement of vitality. The beginning of the change was first felt in the Diocese of New York; the weather forecasts are plainly read in the old Parish, from which new voices were soon to go forth like trumpet-calls on the eve of battle. An era of aggression was about to dawn; a time of warfare in assertion and defence of what was afterwards summed up in the descriptive phrase, "*Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.*" An educational and spiritual upbuilding, on the old foundation, was about to be begun. A figure was to enter on the stage of events which should make itself the centre of observation, near and far.

> "There's a new foot on the floor, my friend,
> And a new face at the door, my friend,
> A new face at the door."

Let us halt a while, in the course of our narrative, to look into the early life of the man for whose coming to New York Dr. Provoost was only waiting to resign the Rectorship of Trinity.

Ample material is at hand for a biography of John

Henry Hobart. Much of his correspondence has been preserved, and is now in the office of the Registrar to the General Convention. References to, and quotations from, his letters and correspondence will be made at first hand from this collection, which for convenience' sake we will term the Hobart MSS.

John Henry Hobart was the second son of Enoch and Hannah Hobart of Philadelphia,—persons of moderate means and circumstances; his father was a seafaring man and captain in the merchant marine. On his father's side, he was a descendant in the fourth generation from Edmund Hobart, who, emigrating from Hingham, Norfolk, England, settled in Massachusetts, calling the name of his settlement after the town he came from, Hingham, which place he represented in the Colonial Legislature for many years. As Norfolk contributed largely to the Puritan cause, it is probable that Edmund Hobart belonged to that body; and this is rendered the more likely from the fact that his two sons, Joshua and Peter, were Congregationalists or Presbyterians. Joshua was a man of some note in the new settlement of Hingham; Peter had been a Presbyterian Minister in the old country, and on his removal to Hingham became its Minister, and discharged the duties of that office for forty-three years. Four of his sons followed in his steps and after studying at Harvard entered the Ministry.

A grandson of Edmund, John, after visiting the Southern Colonies, settled in the suburbs of Philadelphia, on a spot now called Kensington, and married into a Swedish family. Though hitherto a strict Congregationalist he became after his marriage an Episcopalian.

His son, Enoch Hobart, was the father of John Henry, who was born in Philadelphia, September 14, 1775. His father, dying the following year, left his son to the care of

his widow, who by means of rigid economy was able to give him the education which fitted him for his career in life.

He was sent to a school kept by a Mr. Leslie, a teacher of repute in Philadelphia, which he left when nine years of age to go to the Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, where he commenced his classical studies under the Rev. Dr. Andrews, afterwards Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He was confirmed by Bishop White, at the age of fifteen. In the autumn of 1791 he entered Princeton, taking his B.A. in 1793. After his graduation he entered the counting-house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Smith, in Philadelphia, where he remained till the close of 1795. In 1796 he went into residence as tutor at Princeton. Remaining at Princeton two years, and studying assiduously for the Ministry, he was ordained Deacon on the 3d of June, 1798. At Bishop White's request he took charge of Trinity Church, Oxford, and All Saints', Perkiomen, both between ten and thirteen miles from Philadelphia. Very shortly after, the Rector and Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, offered him an appointment as Assistant Minister, which he declined. In May, 1799, he accepted the charge of Christ Church, New Brunswick, where, however, he remained only twelve months, removing thence in May, 1800, to Hempstead, Long Island, from which place, as we have already seen, he was called as one of the Assistants in Trinity Parish. In the spring of that year he was married to Mary Goodin Chandler, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Chandler, formerly Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabeth-Town. He moved to New York in December, 1800. His letter of acceptance to the Vestry will be found on a preceding page.

Such in brief outline are the events in Dr. Hobart's life prior to his settlement in New York. A reference to

the Hobart MSS. will give color to this outline, and enable us to form some opinion as to the character of the man who as Rector of Trinity Parish and Bishop of New York was to do a work of vast importance to the Church in this country and to awaken a dormant power to full and strenuous life.

The earliest letter of Hobart's is without date, written in a boyish hand, and evidently while at school. It is addressed to his mother.

"If my Dear Mama," he says, "recollects, I bought some time ago Elegant Extracts in *Prose;* I have, since I came to town, taken Elegant Extracts in *Verse* out of the Library, I find that it abounds with so many pieces proper for speaking, that I cannot but avoid asking my dear Mama's permission to buy it. I cannot get it out of the Library again, as it is a book which is so much sought after, that if I had not gone to the Library on the first day of its opening, I should not have got it. Even if I could it would be necessary for me to take it to school, where it would perhaps meet with abuse: and as the extracts which I now have are not so valuable without the other, I hope you will consent to my buying it. Sister Becky can give testimony to its merit."

His love for declaiming is alluded to by Mr. William Meredith:

"He was ever anxious to have his quarrel just; and in our little squabbles on the play-ground, and more serious rencounters, we often heard him maintaining its justice by impassioned harangues, which, in vehemence, might well have suited one of Homer's heroes." [1]

In his MSS. we find a transcription in Hobart's handwriting of the impassioned dialogue between Appius and Claudius on the former's love for Virginia. There are also copies, in his writing, of the *Gratulatory Verses on the Progress of Science*, by William Smith, D.D., which Hobart delivered at the College in Philadelphia in 1790. We have also two orations delivered at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1792 and 1793; the first, on the evening

[1] Berrian's *Memoir of the Life of Bishop Hobart*, vol. i., p. 12.

preceding the annual Commencement, entitled, *Oration on the Past Blessings and Future Prospects of America;* the second, on the *Cause of Freedom*, was delivered on the morning of July 4, 1793. Both effusions are written in a florid style.

From a bundle of receipts covering his stay at Princeton, we learn that the cost of "Tuition, Room-rent, Library and Damage money" was then £5 12*s.* 0*d.* for the session from May to September, 1792, in the Junior class,—and for the same period his "Diet" cost him £10 0*s.* 0*d.* Young Hobart developed somewhat æsthetic tastes while at Princeton, for we find a bill

To painting A room, Studdies, & writeing desk blue, with Mahogany dores & fire place brown.....£3. 15. 0.
To high stool..... 6.

£4. 1. [1]

While at Princeton he formed several warm friendships, notably with Abraham Skinner, John C. Otto, and Joseph Warren Scott. Letters from these young men are written in the most extravagant terms of affection. Otto writes, "Formality has nothing to do with a glow of the heart, there is no connection between them."[2]

Scott's letters are full of complaints at Hobart's not writing, or not writing as fully as he ought. In one of them he says:

"My Dear Friend, I must really ask you why you neglect to write to me; you know nothing gives me more pleasure, when I cannot see you, and why then will you voluntarily rob me of so much happiness."[3]

Skinner's letters are still more extravagant in their terms of endearment. He thus writes to Hobart:

[1] Hobart MSS. Bill of James Hamilton, November 15, 1796.
[2] *Ibid.*, Letter from John C. Otto on October 21, 1795.
[3] *Ibid.*, Letter from Joseph Warren Scott on November 17, 1794.

"If it were possible for language to paint my love for my Dear Hobart you would in this letter see the image of my heart. . . . I am glad to hear that you are going to ride about the Country a little and amuse yourself. It only gives me unhappiness that I am not with you; but still My Dear Hobart I am upheld by the hope of living with you."[1]

and again:

"Yours of the 9th Inst. I received yesterday. I find it replete with that affection which has already afforded me the greatest part of the happiness I have enjoyed since we saw each other. I find the sentiments purely from your heart, and the language is really the language of Love. Consider then what pleasure I derive from reading your Letters. Dear John it is one of the noblest kind, and consists of more reality than the pleasure derived from any other source. Continue then my Love, to promote my happiness by writing to me, and let us revive with ardor a languishing correspondence."[2]

Hobart was then only nineteen years of age. When a lad can draw from other men such tender expressions of regard and affection there must be something in his character peculiarly inviting and attractive. His influence was already felt; there are letters from parents and brothers commending to his care and consideration, their children or relatives who were going to Princeton and requesting him to acquaint them as to their behavior and conduct.

In his college days Hobart was, according to the description of his contemporaries, social and cheerful in his relations with his fellow-students, though often impetuous and quick-tempered. As a student he was assiduous and industrious, and, while ambitious of distinction, remarkably free from envy or jealousy.

Young Skinner died in September, 1795, and in a sad, pathetic letter to his friend, the father writes:

"A few minutes before his Exit (sensible Calm and Serene) he gave

[1] Hobart MSS. Letter from Abraham Skinner, Jr., on October 19, 1793.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 14, 1794.

me proof of his willingness to depart, and his last accents breathed submission to the will of heaven. . . . The confines of a sick Room, and the picture of him in his last moments, it is now impossible for me to draw, let me therefore postpone it till our first interview in N. York, I will then tell you more than I can write." [1]

Mrs. Hobart had a hard struggle to eke out sufficient from her small income to pay for her son's schooling and college education. Yet when he was at Princeton she good-naturedly chides him for prepaying his letters, saying that no matter what the circumstances were she would always be ready to pay for having a letter from him.

With few exceptions this collection of fifty or more letters contains but little of general interest.

Those from his mother cover the period from 1797 to 1800, that is, from his last year at Princeton to his acceptance of the call to Trinity Parish. They are wise and motherly, filled with counsels on money matters, and prudent advice as to conduct.

From one dated January 2, 1797, it appears that her son had been offered a charge at Lancaster.

"I received my dear John's two letters with one enclosed to Doctor White which I sent to him—from the reason you assign I think you were right in declining the proposed settlement at Lancaster, particularly as the salary was so far below what you ought to expect—but feel sorry you concluded—that when you were better prepared to take charge of a congregation you would not consider it as an objection that the salary is small or even inadequate to the purpose of maintenance. I fear my dear John in that case however well prepared you might be to enter on the duties of your profession, you would soon find that without a comfortable support you could not long persevere in them with that freedom from care which would be necessary to keep your mind unembarrassed."

In reference to some proposal from Bishop White that Hobart should officiate in Philadelphia on Sundays, while

[1] Hobart MSS. Letter from Abraham Skinner on October 14, 1795.

retaining his tutorship at Princeton, his mother, after counselling him not to intimate his desire to take the duty without some suitable remuneration, adds:

"I shall be pleased when it may be consistent with your happiness to gratify Dr. White's wishes which I believe has always been meant for your good—indeed he has seemed from your childhood to interest himself for you with almost a fatherly attention when an opportunity has presented and I shall always feel gratitude to him for it."[1]

She probably referred to the duty at Oxford and Perkiomen, which Hobart at Bishop White's earnest request subsequently accepted. There is no allusion in her letters to his call to St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, as an Assistant in that parish, and scanty references to his stay in New Brunswick; but they indicate a restless disposition: no sooner was he settled in one place than he was impatient to leave it.

When it was thought probable that the son would receive a call to the parish of Hempstead on Long Island Mrs. Hobart wrote:

"From what I can judge, it appears that it may be advisable for you to accept the church at Hempstead if it is offered to you—particularly as it seems desirable to you, and is the best that offers at the time."[2]

On April 23, 1800, Hobart wrote to his mother announcing his engagement to Miss Mary Goodin Chandler. The letter begins abruptly:

"My head seems turned almost topsy turvy for some time past. I expected to have seen my dear Mama again before the business was settled at Elizabeth, but I have been prevented. I shall set off tomorrow for Hempstead, and on Tuesday next I expect to be made a happy man, and in the following week to present to my dear Mama one who will I trust feel the obligations which I am under for the most anxious solicitude and unremitted attentions which you have exercised towards your children."

[1] Hobart MSS. Letter from Mrs. Hobart, November 17, 1797.

[2] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1799.

Mrs. Hobart responded with affectionate congratulations. At the bottom of this letter is a note in Hobart's hand: "The union alluded to in the above did not take place till 6th May." That day the loving mother pens a few lines expressive of her earnest wishes for the happiness of the young couple.

Hobart had hardly settled in Hempstead when he became discontented. His mother says:

"I am very sorry my dear John to find that the prospects at Hempstead do not appear likely to prove so agreeable as we had flattered ourselves they would. I most sincerely wish some more eligible situation was in your choice."[1]

In subsequent letters Mrs. Hobart continually expresses her hopes that matters at Hempstead may improve. In the spring of the year 1800, the mother warns her son against incurring unnecessary expenses at Hempstead:

"I don't pretend to prescribe to my dear John but will only just hint, that as it is possible Hempstead may not be your permanent residence whether it may not be adviseable not to go to more expense than you can't avoid at first setting out, particularly considering the state of our finances."[2]

From this date on until his settlement in New York Hobart seems to have been straitened for money. Almost every letter from Mrs. Hobart contains regrets at her either being unable to send him any money, or not as much as he asks. She advises her son to part with one of his horses, as he cannot possibly have use for both of them.[3]

On August 27, 1800, she writes in acknowledgment of a letter of his:

"From it I conclude our dear Goodin[4] and yourself have health — and that you have had a partial supply of a necessary article. I am

[1] Hobart MSS. Letter from Mrs. Hobart, November 10, 1799.
[2] *Ibid.*, March 26, 1800.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1800.
[4] His wife—her name was Mary Goodin.

sorry it has not been more compleat. I wish I knew of any practicable plan that would raise a sufficiency—if *you do* I hope you will let me know, and as far as in my power my concurrence shall not be wanting." [1]

On October 19, 1800, Mrs. Hobart writes:

"From Mr. Mercer's and Mr. Robertson's information we have the delightful satisfaction my dear John of hearing that you have accepted the invitation from the vestry of Trinity Church New York, a situation which I hope will ensure to you not only a comfortable but a happy settlement for life and opens to us a prospect of a more convenient and more frequent intercourse than we would have where you are."

Among the Hobart MSS. there is the rough draft of a letter, evidently from Dr. Moore, enclosing the formal resolutions of the Vestry in regard to his election as Assistant Minister. The writer hopes that the apprehensions as to Dr. Hobart's health are groundless, and expresses his confidence that he will be a valuable accession to the clerical society, and in particular to himself, the clergy, and congregation of Trinity Church.

That Mr. Hobart possessed the confidence of Bishop Provoost is evidenced by the fact that he only waited to hear of his young assistant's readiness to come to the city, to resign his office as Rector.

As soon as he was notified that Mr. Hobart had completed his arrangements for settling in New York, the aged Bishop tendered his resignation to the Board.

This sketch of the early years of John Henry Hobart is brief; full details may be found in histories of him written by Drs. McVickar and Berrian. Its object is merely to outline the character and disposition of the man who wielded so powerful an influence on the Church in this land.

Eager, impetuous, longing not so much for personal

[1] Hobart MSS. Letter from Mrs. Hobart, August 27, 1800.

distinction as for the joy of seeing the Church recognized and acknowledged in the fulness of her character and claims, young Hobart addressed himself to the work as her champion, vindicator, and defender. By nature a combatant, he yet had a lovable disposition that drew men to him by the closest bands of affection; in him were united a keen intellect and a warm heart.

In personal appearance he gave the impression of vigor and agility. Below the average stature, his figure was well knit and muscular, his head large, his voice strong and flexible. Near-sighted from his youth, he always wore spectacles of more than ordinary power; these in his portraits inevitably attract attention by their size and their great tortoise-shell rims. In consequence of his defective sight, he dispensed as much as possible with manuscript, committing his sermons to memory, and preaching with rapidity and energy. Like most men of lively temperament, he had intervals of depression; but generally it was said of him that his presence in a room was like a ray of sunshine. This was the man who in the month of December, 1800, took his place in Trinity Parish as an Assistant. His influence in shaping a new policy can be distinctly traced, even in the passionless minutes of the Corporation, as the Rectorship of Dr. Moore drew slowly to an end.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CAVE JONES CONTROVERSY.

Bishop Moore asks for a Coadjutor—Mr. Cave Jones Issues His *Solemn Appeal*—Character of Mr. Jones—Estimation of by Trinity Corporation—Title of *Appeal*—Apologies from Dr. Hobart—Disagreement between Dr. Hobart and Mr. Jones—In Regard to Duties of Standing Committee—Publication of Books—Reconciliation between Them—Fresh Disagreements—Smallness of Charges Made in the Appeal—Mr. Cave Jones Debarred from Holy Communion—Just Summary of Controversy in *A Word in Season*—Succession of Pamphlets—Blame on Both Sides—Action of the Corporation—Their Resolutions—Matter Left to Arbitration—Report of Committee on State of Church—Its Recommendations—Terms of Award—Agreed to by Both Sides—Appointment by the President of Mr. Jones as Chaplain—His Death.

I HAVE in my library a stout octavo volume of more than six hundred pages, of which the title-page runs as follows:

"Report of the Case between the Rev. Cave Jones and the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York. As the same was argued before the five Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New York — Arbitrators to whom the difference between the parties were referred by a rule of the said Court. By Matthew L. Davis. New York: Printed by William A. Davis. 1813."

This book contains so great a mass of matter relating to its subject as to show that the affair agitated the Church and the City to an extraordinary degree, and even carried the waves of strife and dissension to many parts of the State far beyond the city limits. Although controversies of this class, involving little of principle and turning mainly on personal questions, might very well be allowed to drop out of the memory of man, yet, in this

instance, considering the high position of the combatants, their relations to the Parish and Diocese, and the enforced participation of the Vestry in the strife, it seems expedient to give a brief account of the affair, which, after all, comes in as part of the history of the Parish, and led to certain conclusions of importance in the subsequent policy of the Corporation. The Cave Jones Controversy will therefore form the subject of this chapter.

Repeated attacks of paralysis had forced Dr. Moore to live in retirement, and so shattered his health that he was unable to attend to matters of business. On the 13th of March, 1811, as we have already seen, Dr. Beach was appointed Assistant Rector. The duties and cares of Dr. Moore as Rector of Trinity Parish were, however, but the half of his responsibilities, and the easier half; if unable to attend to them, he was still less able to visit his extensive Diocese, or continue the oversight thereof. Accordingly, soon after his nomination of Dr. Beach as Assistant Rector, came a further request for the election of an Assistant Bishop. This letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Convention, was spread on the minutes on the 9th of May, and, together with the action thereon in compliance with the Bishop's request, reads as follows:

"To the Rev. Dr. Beach—

"Whereas the Right Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York, hath caused a letter to be addressed to the secretary of the Convention of the said Church, which letter is in the words following:

"'Rev. Sir:

"'The severe affliction with which it hath pleased Almighty God to visit me, has affected my state of health in such a manner, that it will be impossible for me, without assistance, to perform the duties of the Episcopal office. I am therefore anxious that a special Convention should be called, for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of appointing an Assistant Bishop in this Diocese. A variety of consider-

ations, affecting the most important interest of our holy Church, appear to me to render that measure indispensable. And it is, I think, very desirable that the appointment should be made without delay, so that the consecration may take place at the ensuing general Convention. You will therefore be so good as to take the necessary steps for calling a special convention of the Church in this Diocese, to meet, in the city of New-York — on the second Tuesday of May next.

"'Praying sincerely that all our undertakings may, by Divine Providence, be guided in such a way as may best conduce to the glory of God, and the good of this Church, I remain, with affection and esteem, Rev. Sir, your friend and father in the Lord,

"'BENJAMIN MOORE,

"'Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York.

"'By his son

"'CLEMENT C. MOORE.

"'The Rev. John Henry Hobart D.D. Secretary of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York—'

"Now, therefore, in obedience to the directions of the Bishop, contained in the above letter, which is hereby given, a special Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New-York, will be held, for the purpose specified in the letter aforesaid, in the City of New-York, on the second Tuesday of May next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., at which time and place the Clergy and Lay delegates are requested to attend.

"JOHN HENRY HOBART,
"Secretary of the Convention.

"New-York. March 21st 1811."

On receiving this communication the Board appointed Messrs. R. King, Richard Harison, John Onderdonk, and Thomas L. Ogden as delegates to the Special Convention: and now the fray began. The Rev. Cave Jones was an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church. His colleague, the Rev. John Henry Hobart, was put in nomination for the office of Assistant Bishop. Mr. Cave Jones, persuaded that Dr. Hobart was not a proper person to be elevated to the Episcopate, ventilated his opinions on that point in a pamphlet entitled, *A Solemn Appeal to the Church*,

and thus soon provoked a strife which raged long and loudly, and drew the most important personages of the day into the field of battle.

At this distance of time it is possible, we trust, to review the controversy between Mr. Cave Jones and Dr. Hobart with calmness, and without prejudice to any engaged therein.

At the outset it must be stated that Mr. Jones was a man of blameless repute. Up to the breaking-out of the unfortunate controversy he had been held in high regard by the Corporation, and in loving esteem by the people to whom he ministered. The congregation of St. Paul's Chapel, indeed, stood by him even during the raging of the war of pamphlets to which the controversy gave rise. The Corporation, with its customary generosity to all the Clergy on the staff of the Parish, had voted five hundred dollars to him, Oct. 13, 1808, in consideration of losses recently incurred.[1] These facts sufficiently attest the good will entertained by the people of the Parish and the Corporation for Mr. Jones before the unfortunate issue of his *Solemn Appeal.*

The full title of this pamphlet is:

"*A Solemn Appeal to the Church:* being a plain statement of Facts in the Matters pending between Dr. Hobart with others and the Author. By the Rev. Cave Jones, A. M. One of the Assistant Ministers of Trinity Church, New York. Together with an Appendix, containing A statement of the case of the Rev. Mr. Feltus: under his own hand.

"'Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doeth? St. John Ch. 7. v. 51.'

"*New-York:* Printed for the Author. 1811."

The preface or advertisement is dated May 18, 1811. In it the author states that as a proposition on his part to lay the whole matter before a tribunal of impartial gentle-

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 180.

men had been refused, he had no course open to him but to issue this *Solemn Appeal*, which was to be considered "strictly as a measure of self-defence." The text of the *Appeal* covers eighty-five closely printed pages. The following is a brief summary of its arguments:

At the outset he states that Dr. Hobart had several times apologized to him "for rash and unbecoming conduct" and promised "that there should be no future cause of complaint." He alleges that Dr. Hobart broke this promise, and when the author, in order to end an unbearable situation, had proposed that all matters at issue should be laid before the Bishop and Clergy, Dr. Hobart had responded that even if "the Bishop should call the Clergy together, he would not meet with them." Under these circumstances, and in view of the candidature of Dr. Hobart for the office of Bishop, the author feels that no time must be lost in acquainting the Church at large with the true state of affairs.

He then proceeds to note in detail the occasions on which, as he asserts, Dr. Hobart was rude to him. For two of them, one on the occasion of the insertion of a paragraph relating to General Hamilton's death, the other in regard to a proposal that Dr. Hobart should take the author's duty for one Sunday, the author admits that Dr. Hobart had apologized. The third, however, related to the consent given by the Standing Committee for the ordination to the diaconate of a certain Mr. Gillet, Dr. Hobart maintaining that the Standing Committee had been purposely called together when he was known to be out of the city, on account of his well-known unwillingness to certify to the candidate's fitness. Mr. Jones relates at length a conversation that passed between him and Dr. Hobart on this subject. The views of the two disputants appear to have differed radically as to the

duties of the Standing Committee in cases like that of Mr. Gillet.

Dr. Hobart took the view that the Standing Committee was called upon to decide as to literary, theological, and mental attainments. Mr. Jones, on the other hand, maintained: "We meet there only for the purpose of enquiring into the moral and religious character of the candidate: if these be clear we then deliver him over to the Bishop, and examining Presbyters, to determine on his mental and literary qualifications."[1] Both men defended their position with warmth, and it is very likely that Dr. Hobart lost his temper. The next disagreement was in regard to a letter written by Mr. Jones to the Rev. Joseph Prentice, of Athens, an old and familiar friend of his, with whom he seems to have been in the habit of conversing freely, frankly, and without reserve. In one of his letters to this friend, Mr. Jones had commented on Dr. Hobart's action in using an appropriation from the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning for the dissemination of a work of his own rather than for certain tracts which the Society had ordered to be reprinted. By some means the contents of this letter came to the knowledge of Dr. Hobart. Mr. Prentice positively denied having communicated its contents to anyone; but the Rev. Mr. How, on the other hand, who had taken the side of Dr. Hobart, asserted that "Mr. Prentice exhibited it in the first instance to a friend, who recommended its being sent to Dr. Hobart." A further charge against Dr. Hobart was that of electioneering in the choice of Vestrymen at the Easter election of 1808.

It is evident that it was impossible for these two men to work amicably together. On the 13th June, 1809, however, a truce was ratified in the presence of Dr. Harris,

[1] *Solemn Appeal*, p. 10.

who issued a formal certificate to the effect that Mr. Jones and Dr. Hobart had met at his house and agreed that "whatever had passed between them of a disagreeable nature, prior to the above date, should be buried in oblivion; that they were to set out *de novo*."

Unfortunately, a sharp difference of opinion arose soon after between Dr. Hobart and Mr. Jones as to the attitude to be assumed in their relations to a brother clergyman, the Rev. Dr. R. C. Moore.

Dr. Hobart maintained that no exchange of duties ought to be made between any of the Clergy and Dr. R. C. Moore, for the reason that the latter was in the habit of deviating from the strict letter of the law in the performance of divine service. Mr. Jones took the position that while he did not approve of Dr. Moore's irregularities, he did not see, so long as the Bishop made no complaint, why the Clergy should band themselves together against Dr. Moore; that other men violated rubrics and canons in other ways; and that the matter of exchange should be left to the decision of each clergyman. Thus the two men, almost immediately after their pact, set to pulling different ways again. Their relations became more strained through the action of Dr. Hobart and his friends, of which Mr. Jones bitterly complained, in circulating the report that Dr. Beach absolutely declined to be nominated for the Bishopric—Dr. Beach and his friends considering this as a move to force Dr. Hobart forward as the only logical candidate. Dr. Beach, it seems, called on Dr. Hobart and drew his attention to the anomalous position which would result if Dr. Hobart should become Assistant Bishop. As Bishop, Dr. Beach would be under Dr. Hobart; while, as Assistant Rector, Dr. Beach would be over Dr. Hobart, who was an Assistant only. Mr. Jones in conclusion accuses the friends of Dr. Hobart of using every

electioneering device possible to obtain votes for their candidate.

This is the summary of the *Solemn Appeal.* As we read it dispassionately we wonder at the pettiness of the charges brought forward in so solemn a way. There can be no doubt of Mr. Jones's sincerity; the impress of candor is on his production; but his judgment was at fault, and after all said and done, the main point brought out is this, that men of very different temperaments were most unfortunately yoked together.

Dr. Hobart was brusque, irritable, and inclined to domineer; Mr. Jones, on the other hand, was morbid and apt to magnify and brood over differences, until, unable to subdue his feelings, he finally rushed into print with his *Solemn Appeal.* There in charity the matter ought to have ended. If Dr. Hobart needed any vindication, he received it by being elected Assistant Bishop, May 29, 1811. With such a vindication he might have been content, but the matter did not rest. Steps were taken by his friends to draw the infirm and paralytic Bishop Moore into the controversy, and with success, for they persuaded him to debar Mr. Cave Jones from the Holy Communion.

The views of moderate men in the Church in deprecation of further controversy are well expressed in a pamphlet entitled, *A Word in Season Touching the Present Misunderstanding in the Episcopal Church.* Though issued anonymously, it was believed to be from the pen of William Irving. The writer begs both parties to cry a halt, and thus sums up the situation:

"When Mr. Jones's 'appeal to the church' made its first appearance, I heard but one opinion—that it was an ill-timed publication; that the charges exhibited in it, with one solitary exception, amounted to nothing; and that it ought never to have been published. In this opinion, all considerate, thinking men seemed to agree. The con-

sequence was, not a single friend was weaned from Bishop H.; and to the complete mortification and defeat of Mr. Jones, his head was incircled with the mitre. The fact is, Mr. Jones's book is either true or it is false. What are the consequences in either case? If it is true, it only proves that Bishop Hobart is no saint; that he unfortunately possesses some of the frailties attached to human nature; that he is quick tempered; that when irritated he delivers his sentiments with acrimony and irony; and, that towards those with whom he is displeased he is apt to bear himself with somewhat of a haughty demeanour. This is the amount of all the charges made by Mr. Jones against Bishop Hobart: for as to the case of Mr. Feltus, it is more particularly put home to the Bishop by that gentleman himself. These to be sure are weak charges; and it seems to have given no little umbrage to the great host of Bishop Hobart's friends that they should be *so small.* The world is eternally fond of the marvellous—it never can forgive a mountain that brings forth a mouse; and, indeed, it would really appear from the conversation of many of our ardent churchmen, that they are more offended that so *little* should have been said, than at the publication of that little. Had he denounced the Bishop for some enormous sin,—some startling transgression, the honest multitude would have forgiven him sooner, than for merely saying, as he has said, that the Bishop *is an irritable man.* But we will reverse the case, and say that the book is false. What then? Does it follow inevitably that Mr. Jones is guilty of falsehood? No.—It only follows that Mr. Jones, like Bishop Hobart, is no saint. That he also possesses human frailties: that he also, perhaps, has been ambitious of church preferment: and, with self-love too common to us all, has prided himself secretly in the opinion that he was as eligible in point of standing and ability as Dr. H. He may, possibly, have beheld with an envious eye, the Doctor's growing popularity in the church; he may, owing to the irritability induced by such a state of mind, have been easily affected by any observations of Dr. H.; and regarding his words and actions through a jaundiced and distorted medium, may have magnified trifles, worthy of no regard, into affairs of mighty importance, wounding to his feelings, and derogating from his consequence. But, nevertheless, these causes of complaint, though false, or nearly so in fact, may have appeared important truths in the eyes of Mr. Jones. An imagination, perturbed by jealousy, may have given them being and magnitude. Who also can tell what may have been the tone and manner in which these things may have been said and done? How much does the force and meaning, the kindness or bitterness of every expression, depend upon the

voice, the look and gesture with which it is delivered? *These* constitute the sting; these dwell in the mind of the sufferer, and give the shape and complexion of his wrong. But when he comes to reduce it to writing, the shape and feature, the sting and poignancy are gone—the mere *caput mortuum* of the offence remains. What was tauntingly ironical, appears to be the very language of kindness and regard—what was bitter scoffing, appears friendly admonition. The silent page presents neither voice, nor countenance, nor gesture; these doubtless exist in the painful recollection of the writer, but the reader sees and hears them not: and thus, very probably, many of the observations, which from the mode of their delivery may have had a highly galling significance to Mr. Jones, appear of but small importance in print.

"A sufficient proof to me that the book of Mr. Jones is not false, is in fact the smallness of the charges it contains. Had he really felt disposed to resort to falsehood to asperse the character of Doctor Hobart, he would no doubt have told a blacker tale. To my mind, and I judge of this matter from no out-door gossipings, or extrinsic evidence, the book contains internal proof of its authenticity. It presents to me the sad writhings of a mind, lacerated by unkindness, and rendered sore by frequent irritations. It may be imputed to me as a heinous sin, but I confess I cannot read these records of mental suffering, without some sympathy for a man who seems to have been lonely in his labours—to have borne about with him in his weary vocations the sad burthen of a wounded spirit—to have stood in some need of that mutual assistance and community of affection from his brethren in the ministry, which make labour sweet and wayfaring pleasant, and to have looked in vain for such spiritual solace. I do not imply that the irritations of Mr. Jones were all afflicted by Dr. H.; they may have come from different quarters, while he possibly attributed them all to Dr. H. as the original instigator. It may be said, Mr. Jones is of a suspicious temper—of this I know nothing, but of one thing I am sure, his vexations and grievances could not have been produced by the amiable deportment and brotherly love of those around him. Few men complain of good treatment, or take offence at the infliction of benefits.

"Now, then, as the book, if true, ought not to have defeated Doctor H.'s exaltation, what ought to have been its effect if untrue? Why the one it has had, to have recoiled on Mr. Jones and completed his defeat. Thus, Mr. Jones, *granting the very worst*, has experienced ample retribution: If he had misrepresented the character of Dr. H., he had the mortification to see that his statement was of no avail: If he cherished

envy of Dr. H. it was punished by seeing him elevated above his head: If he was guilty of the deadly sin of ambition, it was severely chastised by seeing the coveted mitre removed beyond his reach, and placed on the brows of his rival. Here, then, the matter on both sides ought to have ended. However much it may have been taken up and entangled and connected with church matters and religious feelings, it was originally and is intrinsically a mere dispute between Mr. Jones and Bishop Hobart, with which the church has nothing to do. These gentlemen, notwithstanding their clerical dignities, being now and then afflicted with the same passions that laymen are so frequently afflicted with, unfortunately disagree; they have not the caution to keep their own secret, their contention is promulgated to the world; a mere personal dispute, in which neither the doctrines, nor the regulations of the church are involved, and the congregation in consequence of it, rises in her majesty, exalts the one to the pinnacle of honour, and hurls with her thunder the other to the dust!

"It may be observed that Dr. Jones, by publishing the book and appealing to the church, gave them a right to judge between him and themselves. The answer is, that Mr. Jones had a specific intention in doing this—whether true or false in his premises, *he honestly believed Doctor H. an unfit person for the Episcopate*, and he might honestly, though in error, have conceived it his duty to express publicly his opinion. Like all other zealous christians, and with equal sincerity, although equally wrong, he might have thought that *the good of the church* demanded such an exposure. His opinion, however, was conceived to be erroneous, his evidence insufficient, and accordingly Doctor H. was elected; and that ought to have been considered punishment enough for an erroneous opinion. But it seems that nothing can satisfy the indignation of the opponents of Mr. Jones but his absolute dismissal from the church: no less a punishment indeed for *disliking a Bishop*, than that which is inflicted in Great Britain on those who commit treason and felony, TRANSPORTATION!—indeed, much greater, for it is in a manner CONFISCATION and TRANSPORTATION, the visiting the iniquities of the father upon the children! He must be stripped of his salary—he must be banished from the state of New-York, so at least says Bishop Hobart—'he must go out of the diocese' are his own words. And this has immediately become, in the eyes of the panic-struck congregation, the only possible means by which safety can be restored to the church. The unfortunate Parson Jones is the Jonas of the church; it is only by throwing him overboard that the present tempest can be allayed, and whether there be a great fish at hand or not to save

him, I fear enters but little into the thoughts of those who are so clamorous for his expulsion.

"Is it possible that our good churchmen think nothing less can atone for disliking Doctor H. than having a living worth three thousand dollars a year taken away from a respectable and hitherto exemplary clergyman :—all the little comfortable arrangements he had made for the future settlement of his family—all the soothing prospects he had fondly painted to himself of living at peace in his native city, among a people that he loved—of passing the evening of his days among the friends of his youth, and of being gathered to the same sepulchre with his fathers—are all these to be laid desolate with one rude sweep? Is every comfort to be trodden under foot—every expectation blasted, and all merely because Parson Jones *dislikes* Bishop Hobart? Surely, if I do not egregiously mistake, the punishment exceeds the offence—it reminds me of the prophecy of our blessed Saviour, concerning the treatment of his ministers; 'some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from *city to city*.'

"Another circumstance that is to be added to the weight of punishment, is the absolute interdict of the communion by Bishop Moore to Mr. Jones—almost excommunication. Nothing is further from my intentions than to point any reflections at the conduct of that worthy and truly exemplary father of our church; but I cannot but consider it as highly reprehensible for any one to have tampered with his feelings while suffering under the present afflictive dispensation of Providence. From the nature of the malady under which he has laboured, it must be evident to every person the least acquainted with the complaint, that his mind cannot, at this moment, be in such a state, as to bear being troubled with unpleasant controversies; or to decide with perfect clearness on the merits of a cause, discoloured as the present one is, by prejudice, and individual animosity."

Pamphlet after pamphlet issued from the press. "Statements," "Dialogues," "Resolutions," "Remarks," followed each other in quick succession. For such as care to prosecute the matter further, a complete list of these publications is given in the Appendix.[1] The whole Church became involved in the dispute. As we read the pamphlets in these days, when all the heat of the strife is over

[1] Appendix XII.

and the dust of the battle has settled, we cannot but wonder at the vehemence and bad taste exhibited in most of them. The calm and dispassionate historian in the record of facts finds much to blame on both sides. If he cannot side with Mr. Cave Jones in his appeal, he cannot but feel that the punishment meted out to Mr. Cave Jones far exceeded his offence.

Turning now to the Vestry, we find that they acted calmly and on the whole very fairly between the two contestants. The *Solemn Appeal* was dated May 1, 1811.

On the 9th of that month the matter was brought up before the Board, and the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved that a Committee of this Board be appointed to take into consideration a late publication of the Rev. Mr. Jones one of the Assistant Ministers of this Church Entitled "A solemn Appeal to the Church" and that they report to the Vestry at their next Meeting whether any and if any what Measures ought to be taken by this Board in relation to the same."[1]

On May 13th the Committee reported:

"The Committee to whome it was referred to take into consideration a late publication of the Rev. Mr. Jones, entitled a "Solemn Appeal to the Church" have maturely reflected thereon. The publication in question appearing to relate to matters, the cognizance and decision of which exclusively belong to regular tribunals established by the canons of the Church, the Committee deem it improper to present these matters to the Vestry, in any shape by which their merits may elsewhere be made the subject of discussion. Nevertheless, in the relation which subsists between this Corporation and the junior Assistant Ministers employed by it, the Committee deem it the right and duty of the Vestry to notice, and as occasion may require, to animadvert upon such of the public acts of those ministers, as may be calculated to effect the peace and welfare of the religious community with which they are united.

"The Committee, having in this view considered the subject

[1] Records, liber ii. folio 207.

referred to them, are of opinion, that the pamphlet lately published by the Rev. Mr. Jones, calls for the serious attention of this Board.

"The evident tendency of appeals to the public, on the subject of private difference between ministers of the Gospel, must, in all cases, be to weaken the reverence and respect justly due to the clerical office; to destroy its influence; impair the discipline and government of the Church; and to bring reproach upon the cause of religion.

"In the case of an associated ministry, like Trinity Church, evils more immediate and pernicious are to be apprehended, inasmuch as the people will naturally take part in the disputes of their pastors; their own passions and prejudices will be brought into the contest; and these must soon banish from the mind that peace and good-will which can alone dispose it to the reception of religious instruction.

"That a course obviously involving consequences of such deep importance to the character and welfare of the Church, should have been resorted to by one of her ministers, in the first instance, without even an experiment of the efficacy of that sanctioned and prescribed by her canons, adds to the grief which every reflecting mind must feel on this occasion, and leaves less room for extenuation than might exist under other circumstances.

"If these sentiments should receive the approbation of the Vestry, the Committee beg leave to recommend that a copy of this report, and of the resolution approving it, be transmitted to the Bishop, and another to the Rev. Mr. Jones."

On June 13, 1811, that is, after the consecration of Bishop Hobart it was

"*Resolved*, That from the circumstances and situation of the Congregations associated with Trinity Church it has become expedient that the Connection between Trinity Church and St. George's and St. Paul's Chapels be dissolved, and that the said chapels be endowed and established as Separate Churches in like manner as Grace Church has been established."[1]

The passage of this resolution shows how deeply the Cave Jones controversy had affected the Parish. Mr. Jones enjoyed the support of the congregation of St. Paul's Chapel; and now comes out the surprising fact that the Corporation were ready and desirous to set off

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 209.

Interior of St. Paul's Chapel as first constructed.

that venerable Chapel, which had served as the Parish Church during the Revolutionary period after the great fire, and to make it a distinct Corporation in order that the people might elect Mr. Cave Jones as its Rector. This startling proposal appears to the writer to indicate a weakness unusual in the Corporation of Trinity Church, and only excusable when we consider the extent of the corrosion produced by the inflammation of the ecclesiastical system. Fortunately, the momentary vertigo passed off, and a more becoming way out of the trouble was found. On September 5, 1811, the Committee on the State of the Church made a full report, taking everything into consideration. It will, we think, be considered as a masterly summary of the existing state of the Church, presenting the remedies in each case for the acknowledged evil.

"1st, In view of the Rector's permanent disability to resume his work, there be allowed him a pension of £500.

"2d, That Dr. Beach having signified his intention of resigning, that there be allowed him a pension of £700 and if he live in town a further sum of £300 to pay for the rent of a house.

"3d, On the subject of additional assistance to the Clergy the Committee report that it would be inexpedient to make any arrangement whilst the proposal for the separation of St. George's and St. Paul's remain unanswered.

"4th, In respect 'to the disorderly State of Trinity Church and its Chapels proceeding from the misbehaviour, before alluded to by the Rev. Mr. Jones, and which became the subject of the early animadversion of the Vestry, the Committee are constrained to declare, that in their opinion, the peace of the Church cannot be re-established so long as the Connection between the Vestry and the rev[d] Mr. Jones remains undissolved.'" [1]

These recommendations, equitable and appearing to cover the whole field of the controversy, were agreed to. They recognize the infirm condition of the Rector's health and the inexpediency of allowing him to bear any longer

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 214.

the burden of administering the Parish, and they grant him a pension. They relieve Dr. Beach from an anomalous position, and clear the way for his retirement with a suitable provision for his support. They state that no further appointment should be made for St. Paul's while an agitation was in progress in the congregation of that Chapel. And, finally, they remand the case of Mr. Jones, the author of all the trouble, to the Bishop of the Diocese for such action as might be considered best, under Canon xxxii. of General Convention.

But Mr. Jones at once protested against the application of the said Canon to himself, and continued in revolt against the action of the Corporation. They had no choice but to adhere to their proposition, and the case, accordingly, went to the Bishop. It was

"ordered that a copy of the late report of the Committee relating to Mr. Jones be forwarded to the Bishop with the request that he proceed in accordance with the Canons."

The minutes of November 4, 1811, record the notification from the Bishop that he will be ready on November 5th to proceed with the case of the difference between Mr. Jones and the Vestry of Trinity Church.

On November 6th the minutes record the instrument giving the decision of the Bishop.

"Whereby it is recommended that the reverend Cave Jones one of the Assistant Ministers of this Church do relinquish immediately his title to the said office of Assistant Minister, that this vestry do pay him the balance of his Salary up to the date of the said Retirement and also within the period of thirty days thereafter the sum of One thousand pounds."[1]

The Vestry agreed to the terms and ordered the Bishop to be notified to that effect.

Mr. Cave Jones, however, still stood his ground, and

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 221.

with spirit declined to withdraw. In a letter dated December 12, 1811, he expressed a readiness, obviously tantamount to a determination, to continue to perform his official duties as an Assistant Minister of the Parish. When affairs reach the culmination of perplexity, the favorite method is to resort to arbitration, as presenting the last chance of escape from a dilemma. This course was now taken, as appears from the Records of March 28th. The Committee on the State of the Church announced to the Vestry that a correspondence had taken place between them and Messrs. Farmer, Farquhar, Mesier, and Munro, as authorized agents of the Reverend Mr. Jones, on the subject of the differences existing between that gentleman and the Vestry; by which correspondence it appears that a reference to arbitrators, to be selected from the clerical or legal professions, of all matters which could properly be discussed in a court of justice in any suit between Mr. Jones and the Vestry, had been proposed and, subject to the approbation of the Vestry, had been agreed to by the Committee, upon an understanding that the *quantum* of compensation to be allowed to Mr. Jones should be considered as open for adjustment by the said arbitrators, notwithstanding any decision establishing the validity of the sentence of suspension, and that upon such reference no advantage should be taken of the want of the Corporation seal to the contract between Mr. Jones and the Vestry.

To this proposition the Vestry assented, agreeing to the said reference and declaring that they "will in all matters within their powers carry into effect the Conditions stipulated by their Committee." [1]

The work of arbitration proceeded slowly; an extension of time was granted in September to the first day of

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 231.

November next.[1] Finally, on October 30, 1813, the terms of the award are given in full.

"1st We award and adjudge that the said action of the said Cave Jones against the said Rector and Inhabitants cease and be no further prosecuted.

"2d We award and adjudge that the said Rector and Inhabitants pay to the said Cave Jones on or before the first day of November next the sum of seven thousand five hundred Dollars together with the actual balance due the said Cave Jones on the 5th day of November 1811 for services previously rendered by him to the said Rector and inhabitants.

"3d We award and adjudge that the said Cave Jones at the same time execute under his hand and seal and deliver to the said Rector and Inhabitants a Release of all actions claims and demands whatsoever in Law or Equity arising or to arise upon any contract matter or thing mentioned or referred to in the recitals contained in the Said Bonds of Submission."[2]

On receipt of the terms of award, the Board resolved that the Treasurer be authorized to pay the several sums of money therein awarded to Mr. Jones—and they further resolved that, upon compliance on the part of Mr. Jones with the terms of the award, the Board would unite with him in an application to the Bishop for the removal of Mr. Jones's suspension.

Thus did this troublesome and vexatious controversy come to a conclusion. Mr. Jones withdrew with his large sum of money, the price paid for his retirement from the scene, and the troubled waves subsided. The proceedings of the Corporation were marked throughout by fairness, consideration, and dignity. One relic of the battle remains to this day. The ancient proverb runs, "A singed cat dreads the fire." A special resolution was passed to this effect:

"That the Assistant Ministers Employed by this Corporation (other than the Assistant Rector) are considered as holding their offices during the pleasure of the Vestry."[3]

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 256. [2] *Ibid.*, folio 257. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 223.

From that day all appointments of Assistant Ministers in Trinity Parish have been "during the pleasure of the Vestry," words carefully inserted in every call. The object aimed at was to prevent the recurrence of trouble similar to that encountered in the case of Mr. Cave Jones, and to retain in the hands of the Corporation the right to free itself if necessary from the presence of enemies to the peace of the Parish and inciters to disorder. I recall, in our history, one instance only in which the power referred to has been exercised by the Corporation, and that was in the case of an obscure person, in Deacon's orders only, who had become an element of danger, and whom it was necessary to repress and cast out. The terms of the call, as given, imply no insecurity of the tenure of office of our Clergy; their positions are, substantially, life positions; and, by Ordinance, provision is made for retirement after long and faithful service, with an *honorarium* to secure from need and anxiety in old age. Places in Trinity Parish are, probably, more permanent than those in almost any other. But prudence, taught by an incident such as has been related in this chapter, dictated that the Clergy,—with the exception of the only two Charter Officers, the Rector and Assistant Rector,—shall hold office only "during the pleasure of the Vestry."

It only remains to add, that the unfortunate Mr. Jones, upon leaving the Parish, was appointed, by President Monroe, a Chaplain in the Navy, and Principal of the Naval Seminary at Brooklyn, where he died, January 29, 1829.

CHAPTER XX.

CLOSE OF DR. MOORE'S RECTORSHIP.

Rapid Advancement of Dr. Hobart — Elected Secretary to Diocesan Convention — Deputy to General Convention — Secretary to the House of Deputies — Doctor of Divinity— Trustee of Columbia College — Consecrated Bishop-Coadjutor — Circumstances Attending his Consecration — Resignation of Dr. Beach — Nomination of Dr. Hobart as Assistant Rector — Terms of Engagement of Assistant Ministers Altered — Election of William Berrian and Benjamin T. Onderdonk — Application for Increase of Salaries from the Clergy — Resolution of the Board — Voting for Wardens and Vestrymen — Action of Christ Church — Letters from Zion Church and St. Mark's Church — Act to Alter Name of Corporation Passed — Literary Activities of Dr. Hobart — List of Works Published — Controversies with Dr. Linn and Dr. Mason — Edits *Churchman's Magazine* — Establishes the New York Bible and Prayer Book Society — The Protestant Episcopal Tract Society — Preaches at the Consecration of Trinity Church, Newark — Character of Hobart's Correspondence, 1800–1816 — *Précis* of the Minutes of the Corporation — Death of Bishop Provoost — Death of Bishop Moore — Resolutions of the Vestry — Character and Appearance of Bishop Moore — Clement C. Moore — Election of Dr. Hobart as Seventh Rector — Conclusion.

WE approach the end of Part II. of this History: a few more pages bring us to the date of the death of Bishop Moore. It has been seen that a reorganization of the ecclesiastical government occurred upon the termination of the controversy of which a full account has been given in the preceding chapter. Meanwhile Dr. Hobart stands forth to view as the most conspicuous figure of that day. His progress since his settlement in the City of New York had been rapid. In 1801 he was elected Secretary to the Diocesan Convention; he was a Deputy to the General Conventions of 1801, 1804, and 1808, and Secretary of the House of Deputies in 1804. In 1801 he was chosen a Trustee of Columbia (formerly

King's) College, and in 1806 he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Union College.

When, in the year 1811, Dr. Hobart was elected Assistant Bishop of New York, the state of affairs in the Church was critical and alarming. There were only six Bishops in America: White of Pennsylvania, Madison of Virginia, Claggett of Maryland, Jarvis of Connecticut, and, in New York, Provoost and Moore. To obtain three of the number for a canonical consecration was difficult. Bishop Madison had abandoned Episcopal functions, confining himself exclusively to his duties as President of William and Mary College. Bishop Claggett set out on the journey to New York, but was obliged to return home owing to a severe attack of illness. Bishop Moore was a paralytic, unable to leave his house. Besides Bishops White and Jarvis, only Bishop Provoost was available. He promised, notwithstanding his infirmities, to be present, provided the consecration could be held in New York. To this the other two Bishops consented. Great anxiety was, however, felt as the day appointed for the consecration, May 29, 1811, drew near.

At the last moment Dr. Provoost had a serious attack of sickness. When therefore the vast congregation assembled in Trinity Church to witness the ceremony, it was moved but by one thought,—"Could Provoost attend?" After moments of almost intolerable suspense, the news that the venerable Bishop had arrived and was actually in the vestry room was whispered from one to another. Audible thanksgivings ran through the assemblage: "He 's come! Thank God!" was echoed throughout the sacred edifice. Bishop Provoost remained in the vestry room till the conclusion of Morning Prayer, entering the chancel for the Holy Communion Service. He read the Epistle in a low but

[illegible] Hobart and Dr. Griswold were con-

[illegible] circumstances were noted on this re-
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[illegible] election; but Bishop White altered
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[illegible] to the Board [illegible] the resignation of the
[illegible] Rector was [illegible] into effect.
[illegible] document sent to the Corporation by Dr. Beach
[illegible] March 4, 1813, and is transcribed on the minutes

The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, L.L.D.
Consecrated Assistant Bishop of New York, May 29th, 1811.
Appointed Assistant Rector April 12th, 1813. Became Bishop February 27th, 1816.
Appointed Rector March 11th, 1816. Died September 12th, 1830.

distinct voice. Dr. Hobart and Dr. Griswold were consecrated together.

Several unusual circumstances were noted on this remarkable occasion. Griswold was Hobart's senior, both in Holy Orders and in election; but Bishop White altered the usual mode, and consecrated Hobart first. The excuse was afterwards given, that Dr. Griswold was junior to Dr. Hobart by date of reception of the Doctorate of Divinity. It was believed, however, that the real reason for giving precedence to Dr. Hobart was the belief that he would better grace the presidential chair of the House of Bishops as a man of more elegant culture and parts, an office, however, which he never lived to fill. Another circumstance marked this service: the singular omission by Bishop White of the words "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" in the act of consecration. Finally, as a matter of antiquarian interest, it may be noted that this was the last public occasion on which a Bishop wore a wig — the wig then formed a part of the official costume: Bishop Provoost alone of the three Bishops wore it, and for the last time.

During the incumbency of Dr. Beach, and on his nomination, Mr. William Berrian was elected an Assistant Minister of the Parish, December 12, 1811, and on October 30, 1813, Benjamin T. Onderdonk was also appointed an Assistant Minister.

Notwithstanding Dr. Hobart's consecration to the Episcopate, two years elapsed before the recommendation made by the Committee on the State of the Church in its report to the Board regarding the resignation of the Assistant Rector was carried into effect.

The document sent to the Corporation by Dr. Beach was read March 4, 1813, and is transcribed on the minutes of that date.

The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D.
Consecrated Assistant Bishop of New York, May 29th, 1811.
Appointed Assistant Rector April 12th, 1813. Became Bishop February 27th, 1816.
Appointed Rector March 11th, 1816. Died September 12th, 1830.

"In the name of God Amen. I Abraham Beach of the City of New York Doctor of Divinity Assistant Rector in this Corporation called and known by the name of the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal [1] in the State of New York before you the Church Wardens and vestry men of the said Church for certain just and lawful causes me and my mind moving, resign and give up my said office of Assistant Rector and Minister aforesaid, by whatsoever name the said office may be the most properly known and distinguished.

"In witness whereof I the said Abraham Beach have hereunto set my hand and seal this fourth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and thirteen.

"ABRAHAM BEACH

(L. S.)" [2]

The resignation of Dr. Beach was accepted; at the next meeting Bishop Moore nominated Bishop Hobart as the Assistant Rector; upon the approval of which nomination Dr. Hobart took the chair and for the first time presided at the meetings of the Corporation.[3] He did not become Rector till three years afterwards, still he was from this date Rector *de facto*. Dr. Beach's resignation was one of the direct consequences of the Cave Jones controversy.

The right of voting at the election of Wardens and Vestrymen was brought to the front in 1812. Certain individuals belonging to independent congregations in the City asserted their right to vote at the Easter elections of the Trinity Corporation; alleging that the title of the Corporation, "The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York," gave that right to every Churchman who was an inhabitant of the City of New York.

The claim was not made by parishes, as such, but by individuals connected with them. Christ Church addressed

[1] Sic. [2] Records, liber ii., folio 249. [3] *Ibid.*, folio 250.

a letter to the Corporation of Trinity Church repudiating all desire on the part of its members to vote at any election of Wardens and Vestrymen for Trinity Parish. This letter was ordered by the Board to be filed, on May 4, 1812. It says in part,

"We have learnt with regret that some of our Episcopal Brethren assert the claim of a general right in all the Episcopal Churches on this Island to vote at your Elections for Church wardens and Vestrymen. Whatever Color may be given to this claim by any ambiguous words to be found in your charter we sincerely take pleasure in declaring that the Congregation of Christ Church which we represent have no desire to assert the claim, and that we will at any time hereinafter cheerfully unite with your respectable body in an Application to the Legislature if the measure shall be thought expedient for an Act to explain the Charter and conform the right of voting solely to the Congregations of the Churches under your immediate Government." [1]

Similar letters were afterwards received from Zion Church, and St.-Mark's-Church-in-the-Bowery.

To remove the ambiguity in the corporate title of the Church, and to settle a question likely to prove troublesome, the Vestry petitioned the Legislature in 1813, stating the facts of the case, and asking for some appropriate legislation on the subject. The following extract from their petition correctly states the difficulty :

"Your petitioners beg leave further to show, that in consequence of the rapid and unexampled increase and prosperity of our country since the said Revolution, and the corresponding growth and population of the City of New York, Trinity Church aforesaid, with the churches and chapels belonging to its corporation became insufficient for the accommodation of all the inhabitants of the said city who professed themselves members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or wished to become so ; on which account, and for a variety of other reasons not necessary to be suggested, numerous persons of this description have been induced from time to time to form themselves into distinct corporations each having its own peculiar endowments and places of worship, with

[1] Records, liber ii., folio 258.

Rectors and other officers of their own choice, totally independent of any control or interference of your petitioners.

"That a number of such religious corporations have accordingly been organized, as the law directs, some with and some without the concurrence of your petitioners, to all which your petitioners have made liberal donations, and with whose internal concerns your petitioners, or any of the members of Trinity Church, as such, do not claim any right to intermeddle ; nor do the said corporations possess or claim any right for themselves to vote in the elections or regulate the affairs of Trinity Church.

"Nevertheless, a few individuals belonging to such separate corporations have recently pretended to claim that right, and at the last annual election of Church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, held in the month of March in the year 1812, two or three persons being members of incorporated churches, separate and distinct from your petitioners, tendered themselves as voters, but their votes, under an ordinance previously passed by your petitioners, were rejected, and no measures have been yet taken to enforce or establish the right so claimed.

"It must be obvious, however, that attempts of this nature cannot fail to produce strife and litigation, and to foster and keep alive pretensions of the most unreasonable nature, and of the most mischievous tendency."

The petition was presented to the Legislature of New York on the 17th of March, 1813, and an Act passed by the Senate on the 25th of March went to the House of Assembly on the 30th of March, and was ultimately passed on the 25th of January, 1814. This Act of 1814 authorized the Corporation then known as "The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York" to take and use the name of "The Rector, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church in the City of New York," and then provided for the qualifications of voters as follows:

"That all male persons of full age, who, for the space of one year preceding any election, shall have been members of the congregation of

Trinity Church aforesaid, or of any of the chapels belonging to the same, and forming part of the same religious corporation, and who shall hold, occupy, or enjoy a pew or seat in Trinity Church, or in any of the said chapels, or have partaken of the Holy Communion therein within the said year, and no other person shall be entitled to vote at the annual elections for the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the said corporation."

This act also ratified the separation of St. George's Church.

Since the passage of this act the legal relation between Trinity Church and the other incorporated Episcopal Churches in the City of New York has been that of distinct corporations, each, and the congregation of each, having no rights over the other.[1]

As an educator of the people in knowledge of the nature, claims, and mission of the Church, Dr. Hobart holds a high place: his activity on that line was constant and of great value. In 1803 he published a small work entitled *A Treatise on the Nature and Constitution of the Christian Church:* it was really a republication of Stephens's *Treatise*, with such alterations as the times required. In 1804 appeared his *Companion to the Altar.* His doctrinal views are well expressed in the portion of the preface to the first edition which we transcribe.

"In the following pages the writer has endeavoured to keep in view the principles, which he deems most important and fundamental. These principles are — That we are saved from the guilt and the dominion of sin by the divine merits and grace of a Crucified Redeemer, and that the merits and the grace of this Redeemer are applied to the soul of the believer in the devout and humane participation of the ordinances of the church, administered by the priest-hood who derive their authority by regular transmission from Christ, the Divine head of the Church, and the source of all power in it — "

[1] See *Narrative of Events connected with the Bicentennial Celebration of Trinity Church, New York, in May, 1897*; monograph by Stephen P. Nash, entitled *Note on the Use of the Term Chapel*, pp. 73–78.

In the following year, 1805, appeared his revision of Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals*, of which he thus explains the object:

"In drawing up the following volume, the Editor took for his guide the excellent work of *Nelson on the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England.* Considerable change, however, has been made in the *arrangement*, the *matter*, and *style* of the original work.

"The evidences of the Christian religion and the constitution of the Christian Church are discussed in preliminary instructions, and on the latter subject much useful matter has been selected from *Stevens' Treatise on the Church*, from *Potter on Church Government* from which the preceding work is compiled, and from the excellent work of *Daubeny* on the same subject. In the Chapter on Sunday will be found an explanation and illustration of the Liturgy of the Church, connected with directions for the use of it; and on every Festival and Fast an explanation is given of the particular service for the day. Other parts of the work are *principally* compiled from the various and excellent commentaries on the Book of *Common Prayer*, and from a small tract entitled, *Directions for a devout and decent Behaviour in the Public Worship of God.* The Devotions throughout the volume are chiefly selected and altered from a book distinguished for its primitive and fervent piety, entitled, *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices, published by Dean Hickes.* . . . Two useful tracts on Confirmation, and an exhortation to Family Prayer, with Suitable Forms of Devotion, are annexed to the volume."

In 1806, Dr. Hobart issued *The Clergyman's Companion*, being a guide to the Clergy in the every-day difficulties encountered in their parochial ministrations.

It was inevitable that the publication of such works at that time should stir up controversy. Dr. Hobart was assailed by members of the Church, to whom his earnestness savored of Methodism; while his contention for the Apostolic character of the Church brought attacks from Presbyterians and others. Upon the termination of a controversy with Dr. Linn, one of the ablest Presbyterian Ministers of that day, he published in one volume the

whole series of papers — both for the attack and defence — under the title of *A Collection of Essays on the Subject of Episcopacy, in which the Arguments for and against Episcopacy are presented to the Reader.* This brought out a counter-attack from the Rev. Dr. Mason, the editor of *The Christian Magazine*, which in turn was answered by Hobart's *Apology for Apostolic Order.* It was in this work that Hobart summed up his position in the well-known words, "My banner is EVANGELICAL TRUTH AND APOSTOLIC ORDER."

Nor did he work for Church principles with pen only; he planned and organized a clerical association under the title of "The Protestant Episcopal Theological Society." From this as from a germ sprang our noble institution of learning, The General Theological Seminary. Dr. Hobart became the proprietor and editor of *The Churchman's Magazine*, which was removed from New Haven to New York. The first number was issued in April, 1808. In 1809 he established The New York Bible and Prayer Book Society, and in 1810 the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society.

In the Hobart MSS. for the period 1800 to 1816, striking evidence is found of the power of this remarkable man to attract and retain friends. He is written to for advice on a great range of matters: Acknowledgments of pamphlets; allusions to the various controversies in which he was engaged; requests for advice from Clergy in the rural districts seeking direction in the study of doctrine or asking counsel how to proceed in parochial difficulties—to make adequate extracts from these communications would be an endless task. In addition to the letters, there are official returns from parishes and their Clergy, and many documents relating to Dr. Hobart's position and acts as Secretary to the Conventions.

One well-thumbed and yellow MSS. is worthy of notice. It is a *précis* of the Records of the Corporation of Trinity Parish from 1697 to May 4, 1781. It bears the following title:

NOTES.
of every material Transaction
of the VESTRY
of
TRINITY CHURCH
in the City of
New York
from its foundation Ann° 1696
and Incorporation
by
His Excellency Col° Benja: Fletcher
Governor of the Province
In the Year of our Lord Christ
1697
In which is shewn the ZEAL and LABOR
of the pious promoters of that
LAUDABLE WORK
and that their successors have been
no less solicitous for its
Opulence and Grandeur
Extracted for the use of succeeding members
1781 Antho Van Dame.

This *précis* of the minutes is followed by a full copy of the Charter from George III.

The years 1815 and 1816 were memorable in the annals of the Diocese and Parish. On September 6, 1815, Bishop Provoost passed away, and on the 27th of February, 1816, Bishop Moore departed this life. So passed to his rest the second Bishop of New York and sixth Rector of Trinity Church, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

In appearance Bishop Moore was tall and spare, with a stoop which increased with years. A thin face, with hair that whitened early, gave him even in middle life a

venerable appearance. In manner he was grave and placid; his conversation was enlivened by a flow of quiet humor, which we are told by his contemporaries, "whether in anecdote or in remark, was always delivered with an undisturbed gravity of expression."[1]

"His voice," the same writer tells us, "though pleasing in its lower and level tones, was naturally feeble, and when at all raised or excited became tremulous and somewhat guttural." This tremulousness, it was said, made his rendering of the petitions in the Litany and the Burial Service peculiarly solemn and pathetic.

Not a learned man, nor a profound scholar, nor gifted with the diversity of attainments possessed by his predecessor, he was nevertheless a man of refinement and of scholarly tastes, who won affection by his gentleness, kindness, and unaffected simplicity. The best commentary on his character is his life. "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. . . . Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." Of such was that good Bishop. A man of combative temperament might have wrecked the infant Church in America. Believing that a wrong and an injustice was done him in the appointment of Dr. Provoost at the close of the War of the Revolution, he made, in justice to himself and to his friends, his dignified protest. That duty done, he showed no malice or ill-humor, but meekly accepted the lower place and did his duty as an Assistant. For thirteen years he served his Rector and Bishop loyally and faithfully, with a singleness of purpose and a Christian gentleness of character which disarmed opposition and converted enemies into friends. When, therefore, in the fulness of time, the honor which had been offered him once by a party was again tendered him, it

[1] The Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck in Sprague's *Annals*, vol. v., p.303.

was tendered by all. Not one dissenting whisper marred the unanimity of the action. He had been found faithful in a few things; he became ruler over many.

By his marriage to Miss Charity Clarke, Dr. Moore came into possession of a large plot of land bounded on the west by the Hudson River, on the east by Eighth Avenue, on the north by West Twenty-Fourth Street, and on the south by West Nineteenth Street. At the time the land consisted of low meadows, swamps, and long-reaching flats. By the advice and the wise and prudent management of Mr. Wells, the agent to the estate, the land was reclaimed, the flats were banked in, and the land over which high tides flowed is now covered with acres of buildings. The site of the General Theological Seminary formed part of this Clarke estate; it was deeded to the Seminary by Bishop Moore's only son, Clement Clarke Moore. This son studied for the Ministry but never entered it. He was a good Hebrew scholar, but is known to posterity chiefly as the author of "The Night before Christmas." A manuscript copy of this poem in the hand of the author is in the library of the New York Historical Society.

On March 11, 1816, as the minutes record, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D., was chosen Rector, and having been notified of his election, was then and there duly inducted by the ancient ceremony of the delivery of the keys of the Church to him in the presence of the Churchwardens and Vestrymen.

Here, with the election of its seventh Rector, closes the Second Part of the History of Trinity Church.

Many were the devout members of our communion, who in those early days grew faint-hearted and doubtful as to the permanence of the Parish and of the Church they loved so well; but we, who can look back on facts accom-

plished, see that no other course could have brought peace, prosperity, and permanence to the same Parish and Church than the one which under the providence of God was followed during those three-and-thirty years.

The strong administration of Provoost was needed to consolidate the interests of the Church and preserve the patrimony of the Parish. Moore showed his friends that loyalty to the American was not disloyalty to the English Church; and under his gentle rule old wounds were healed and differences forgotten. Both were needed; each had his mission, each his work to do in his generation; and the order of events appeared to indicate the presence of an unseen Power leading the way and strengthening hands and hearts to lay foundations not to be cast down. The way was now open for work on an advanced line, and the man then needed was ready, to quicken zeal, animate courage, enlist under the banner of the Church Militant, and extend the bounds of the Kingdom. The moment for a new departure had come, and he who was to lead it was that apostle of Christ, that champion of the Faith, John Henry Hobart.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

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I.

THE CONTEST FOR THE RECTORSHIP.

SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION TO THE COUNCIL FOR THE TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE, 1783. (DOCUMENT 2403.)[1]

Thomas Tillotson
Lewis Morris
John Lamb
Cornelius Haight
William Bedlow
Thomas Sanders
James Jarvis
Isaac Sears
Fr. Lewis Junr
Morr Lewis
Thos Grenell
Wm. Thompson
I. Kemper Junr
Geo. Fisher
Edwd Antill
L. R. Morris
James M. Hughes
Robert Thompson
Anthony L. Bleecker
Wm Duer
Edward Fleming
George Leaycraft
Saml Atlle
Jas Duane
R. R. Livingston
Fras Lewis
Anthy Griffiths
Wm Newton
Jacob Hallett
John Rutherfurd
John De La Mater
John Holt
Jno. Fisher
Wm Leaycraft
James Bradford
James Giles
William Tapp
Gar. Roorbach
Patt. Dennis
Leond Bleecker
Jacob Morris
Leonard Lispenard Tertius
H. Mulligan
Daniel Hitchcock
Thos. Smith
James Nicholson

[1] The originals of these documents are to be found in the State Library, Albany, in the MSS. Department in the *New York State Legislative Papers*, 1780–1803. Nos. 2251 to 2479, Taxes—Whaling. Many of the signatures to these documents are very hard to read, but by the aid of the directories of New York for the years 1786 and 1792, most of them have been deciphered.

The text of this Petition is given in full on pages 11–14.

John Pintard
Lewis Graham
Simon Schermerhorn
Rob. Troup
Corn^{s} Bradford
Marinus Willett
Paul H. Randall
Peter Hughes
John Keating
Richd Deane
Danl Kemper
Anth^{o} Rutgers
Thos Rattoon
J. Bayley
I^{s} Hubbell
Benja. Douglass
Jacob Leonard
E. Blagge
Thos Hammond
William Deane
Wm C. Bradford
Edward Dunscomb
Saml Johnson
Jno Blagge
Wm Alexander
Danl Kemper
Thos Tucker
David Provoost
Ja^{s} Fairlie
James Prince
Anth. Lispenard
Leonard Lispenard Junr.
James Howlett
Theod. Fowler
John Bailey
J. Cozine
Henry Edwards
Chris^{r} Miller
Jacob Tabele
John Graham
Matthew Cowper
Saml Gilford
H. P. Newton
—— Claggett
Thomas Witter
Daniel Dunscomb
Hugh Hughes

Endorsement on Document 2403.

The Petition of James Duane, R. R. Livingston and Francis Lewis, Esq^{rs} and others to the

1783

Council for the temporary government of the State.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE BY THE WARDENS AND VESTRYMEN.
(DOCUMENT 2404.)

To the Honourable the Representatives of the State of New York in Senate & Assembly

In Petition of the Subscribers

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners have reason to apprehend, this Honourable

Body are not yet perfectly informed of every Circumstance relating to the unhappy dispute at present subsisting in the Episcopal Congregation in this City.

That your Petitioners have had perfect knowledge of every Transaction from the beginning, and if required, can produce the original Papers.

They therefore beg leave to submit to the Inspection of this Honourable Body the following State of the Facts, & earnestly request that it may meet with such attention as the Importance of the Affair requires

And your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray

	JOHN CHARLTON	Vestrymen
	THOMAS MOORE	
ROBERT WATTS	THOM^{S} ELLISON	
JOHN BARD	W^{M} LAIGHT	
	GABRIEL H. LUDLOW	

Upon the resignation of Dr Inglis, the Rev^{d} Mr Moore was appointed to succeed him, as Rector of Trinity Church by the Church Wardens & Vestrymen — the Election was regularly made — the presentation to His Excellency Governor Clinton (who was expected soon to come into New York) signed & sealed — the whole business was compleated excepting the matter of *Induction.*

On Saturday 6th Decr the following advertisement appeared in the public Paper —

"The Whig members of the Episcopal Church are requested to meet this evening at seven o'clock at Simmons' Tavern near the City Hall, on matters of Importance relative to the Church which require immediate attention."

From that meeting the following Letter was directed to "the Gentlemen exercising the office of Church Wardens & Vestrymen" & signed by a Committee appointed for that purpose—

"GENTLEMEN

A respectable number of the Congregation of the Episcopal Church, apprehending that your late proceedings, as Church Wardens and Vestrymen, may be attended with the most serious consequences to the Church, met, on Saturday Evening last, to consider the Means of preventing the Evils they dread. At which meeting they unanimously voted that the late nomination to the Rectorship was improper and unwarrantable and appointed us a Committee to confer with you on the Subject, and to Endeavour to prevent any divisions in a Church which they highly respect and Earnestly wish to support.

For these purposes we are desirous to meet and confer with you at Capes Tavern at six o'clock on Tuesday Evening next.

We are Gentlemen your very humble servants

(Signed) R. R. LIVINGSTON
JAS. DUANE
MARINUS WILLET
ROBERT TROUP
JOHN LAWRENCE"

The Vestry and Church Wardens, objecting only to the proposed *Place* of meeting (it being a Tavern), returned the following Answer:

"GENTLEMEN,

The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Corporation of Trinity Church have received a letter Signed by you, and being anxious to prevent all divisions in a Society for which you profess so high a regard, are willing to meet you, for the purpose of conferring on any Subject which may conduce to the Harmony of the said Church, at the *Vestry Room*, No. 87 Broadway, on Tuesday Evening at six o'clock.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your very Humble Servts.,

(Signed) JAMES DESBROSSES, ROBERT WATTS } Church Wardens."

directed to

"R. R. Livingston, James Duane, Marinus Willet, Robert Troup and John Lawrence Esquires."

On Tuesday Evening the Church Wardens and Vestrymen assembled at the Vestry Room, where they received the following Letter:

"CAPES TAVERN, 9th Dec. 1783.

GENTLEMEN

We are now assembled at this place, where we are ready to confer with you on the Subject mentioned in our Letter of yesterday. As you have not thought it proper to assign any reason for declining to meet us at this place, we see none for changing it to that you propose; nor do we feel disposed to take a step which may be considered as an implied acknowledgment that you are legally the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, a question on which we think it improper at present to decide, whatever our Sentiments may be. As we supposed you, in your private Characters animated with the Same desire to insure the Prosperity of the Church and establish it upon a

broad and liberal foundation that influences our Conduct, we Expected that you would have rejoiced at an opportunity to unite with us in healing any divisions which may have originated through your precipitation; as well as in examining how far the Charter may in itself be questionable by militating against the Spirit or Letter of the Constitution, and whether the Circumstances under which it has been attempted to be preserved, by those who submitted to or concurred in the British Usurpation, may not call for the Interposition of the Legislature. Should you decline this opportunity of conferring on these Subjects, we shall proceed to take such Steps, for the prosperity of the Church, and the security of our own Rights therein, as those we have the honor to represent may deem expedient, without giving you any further trouble.

We are Gentlemen,

Your very Humble Servts.,

(Signed) R. R. LIVINGSTON
JAS. DUANE
MARINUS WILLET
ROB^{T} TROUP
JOHN LAWRENCE"

directed to

"The Gentlemen exercising the Office of Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Episcopal Church in the City of New York."

To avoid all complaint the Churchwardens & Vestry agreed to meet the above mentioned Gentlemen at the place they had fixed upon —The result of the Conference was "The Committee conceived the only way to accommodate matters would be for the Vestry to advise Mr Moore to resign his appointment to the Rectory—they must then proceed to call some other Minister who might be agreeable to what were called the Whig members & *they* would prevail on the Legislature to confirm the Acts of the Vestry."

After some deliberation the following message was sent to Mr Duane:

"The Church Wardens and Vestry Men having taken into consideration the propositions made to them last evening, are of opinion that they are of *too important a nature* to decide upon in the short time proposed, and wish to defer their answer until Tuesday next."

To which this answer was received:

"Mr. Duane's compliments to Mr. Bache and acquaints him that he repeated to the Committee assembled at this place the message with which Mr. Bache was charged by the Gentlemen exercising the office

of Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church. It is their opinion that as there will be a general meeting of those, whom they have the honor to represent to-morrow Evening, and no reason having been assigned for this request, they are not authorized to consent to the proposed delay, and that an answer will be expected to the propositions of this Committee that it may be submitted to the Consideration of the General Meeting as advertised previous to Mr. Bache's communication.

CAPES TAVERN, Tuesday [1] Evening, Decr. 11th."

The Vestry being thus pushed for an Answer came to the following resolutions which were sent the next morning, as the Committee would not allow that *any Reason* had been assigned for their wishing to delay their answer, tho' they suppose they had given a very *Sufficient Reason* when they said :

"The propositions were of too *important a Nature* to be decided upon in the *Short time* afforded them."

"The Church Wardens and Vestry Men of Trinity Church having maturely considered the Conversation which passed on Tuesday Evening, the 9th instant, between them and a Committee of respectable Gentlemen appointed to confer with them on Matters relating to the Church, and having weighed with the utmost candour and attention the propositions which were then made to them (with all due deference to the opinion of others, and at the same time with that honest steadfastness and perseverance which becomes men acting in a public and important Station) beg leave to declare,

That they are desirous Every man Should have a free voice in the Election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen who appears at the *time* and with the *Qualifications* which the Charter requires.

That they look upon themselves as the only *legal Representatives* of the Members of the Episcopal Church in this City being regularly appointed to the Office which they now Sustain, according to old and Established Usage.

That in all Ecclesiastical matters which have come before them, and in all their Actions, relating to the Business of the Church, whether in a private or Corporate capacity, they have most faithfully endeavoured to promote its Interest and preserve its Constitution.

That under their Management, in the course of six or seven years it has been retrieved from Many and great Difficulties and raised to a very flourishing condition.

[1] Ought not this to have been Thursday ? or the date Dec. 9th ?

That in the late Transactions, which (with unfeigned sorrow and regret) they find have given dissatisfaction to many, they assumed no new Power, their only aim was the Public good, they literally adhered to their Charter, which they knew was confirmed by the Constitution of the State, and that great numbers of the Congregation concur with and are ready to support them by all fair and legal means, and therefore,

That they cannot advise any change in the Measures which they have adopted, without contradicting their own opinion, without sacrificing the Rights with which they deem themselves to be duly invested, and without forfeiting their claim to an uniform and consistent Character, which they wish ever to preserve."

No further communication was held with the Church Wardens and Vestry on the foregoing subject by the Committee.[1]

A petition was presented by "the Gentlemen stiling themselves the Whig members of the Episcopal Church" (& signed by less than one hundred Persons, of whom about a dozen only were communicants) "To the Honourable the Council appointed by Act of the Legislature for the temporary Government of the Southern District of this State." —The Petition above mentioned was presented on New Year's Day—on the day following the Vestry was assembled to fall upon some method, if possible, of settling this unhappy dispute (not knowing that the petition had been given in the day before), & agreed to the following propositions to be made to the Gentlemen opposing them :

"That every Vacancy in the Vestry be supplied with such persons as shall be agreeable to those who denominate themselves the Whig Members of the Episcopal Church.

That this be considered at present as a conciliating expedient till the next General Election of Church Wardens and Vestrymen, when Every Member of the Church in Communion will have a free Vote.

That if a coalition can be brought about, the Vestry will immediately proceed to call such a clergyman as shall be pointed out by the Whig Members, as the Person most agreeable to them.

That the clergyman so elected shall be placed precisely upon the

[1] The following notice appeared in Rivington's *Gazette* for December 10, 1783.

NOTICE is hereby given, in Pursuance of a Resolution of the Whig members of the *Episcopal Church*, who met last Saturday Evening at Simmons' Tavern, That the said meeting is adjourned to the Long Room in the Coffee House, on Friday Evening next, at nine o'clock; at which Time and Place all Persons professing themselves Episcopalians, are requested to attend. *James Duane*, Chairman.

There is no allusion to this meeting in the above correspondence.

same footing with Mr. Moore — the sallary from the Church being allowed to both, and as to the perquisites arising from the parochial Duties, the Clergyman who performs the Duty to receive the Emolument.

The office of Rector being thus abolished, and all precedence and superiority done away, the Clergy of the Church for the time being, to be considered as members of the Corporation, and that, at least one of them be always present, in order to Constitute a Board.

That if these Propositions are acceded to, then the whole Interest of the Episcopal Church to be united to prevail upon the Legislature to remove any doubts that may arise from the Ceremony of inducting the Rector heretofore practiced, by declaring the advowson *donative*, instead of *presentative* in the Church Wardens and Vestrymen.

Also to declare, that instead of a Rector with Peculiar Privileges the officiating clergy be upon a footing of Equality, and to make any alteration in the Stile which the change of Government may render proper."

To the preceding Propositions the following answer was received:

"At a meeting of the associated Episcopalians at the Long Room in the Coffee House on Monday Evening 5th Jany 1784 Resolved — That the Propositions from the Persons Stiling themselves the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church for the purpose of accommodating the differences among the members of the Episcopalian Church, are wholly inadmissible.

(Signed) JAS. DUANE, Ch.

Ordered that the above resolutions be delivered to Mr. Bache."

The Act of the Honourable Council, to whom the Petition before mentioned was presented, has been printed & is known to all men.

The Possession of all & every the Estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church was, agreeably to this ordinance delivered to the Gentlemen appointed for that purpose—These gentlemen after having received the keys of two chests of state belonging to the said church returned them to Mr Moore, and at the same time informed him that *it was their wish & desire that he should continue to officiate in the Church as usual.*

On the 2nd of Feby, the Rev Mr Provost came to Town. On the Evening of the 5th Feby Mr Moore received the following letter

"NEW YORK, 5th Feby 1784.

REVEREND SIR,

The Reverend Mr. Provost has been pleased in compliance with

our Invitation, to take the charge of the Episcopal Churches in this City, and we have delivered him the Keys.

We by no means wish to abridge your usefulness in a Congregation where you have many friends. The object of this Letter is only to apprize you that Mr. Provost in future will have the direction in the same manner as it was exercised by former Rectors.

We are Reverend Sir

Your most humble Servts.

(Signed) JAS. DUANE
WM. DUER
LEWIS MORRIS
DANL. DUNSCOMB
WM. BEDLOW
JOHN RUTHERFORD

Rev. MR. BENJ. MOORE."

To which Letter the following answer was returned.

"NEW YORK, 7 Feby 1784.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received a Letter from you, in which you inform me 'that the Rev'd Mr. Provost, in compliance with your Invitation, has taken the Charge of the Episcopal Churches in this City, and that you have delivered him the Keys.' Upon looking at the ordinance of Council of 12th Jany last, I find that nine gentlemen (whose names are there mentioned) or any five of them, are authorized 'to take possession of all and every the Estate of the Corporation of Trinity Church in the City of New York, to be by them retained and kept until such Time as *further legal Provision* shall be made in the Premises.'

As your Authority is confined to this Business *Solely*, I am at a loss to know whence you derived the Power to introduce a Clergyman into this Parish, and to invest him with a right 'to have the direction in the *Same Manner* as it was exercised by *former Rectors*.'

It is indeed true, and I speak of it with gratitude and pleasure that I have, in the Congregation, many friends. For near Ten Years past I have discharged my duty among them faithfully, I hope advantageously; and could I be treated with the same degree of Respect and Confidence that these men are, should be most happy to continue my services.

Not being permitted to go into the Church but under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Provost, and not being inclined to do anything that may be construed into an implied acknowledgment that my Claim

to the Rectorship is annulled, I shall beg leave, for the present, to decline officiating in the Churches until Some further *legal Provision* is made.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most humble servt.

(Signed) BENJ. MOORE.

James Duane, Wm. Duer, Lewis Morris, Danl. Dunscomb, Wm. Bedlow and John Rutherford, Esquires."

Since the above Letter the Rev. Mr. Provost has exercised the Powers vested in him by the Committee, and the Rev. Mr. Moore has declined officiating.

It ought to have been mentioned before, that when the debate before the Council was finished and before their decision was published, Coll Hamilton, who had supported the cause of the Vestry, at their desire waited upon the Chancellor with the proposal, That if the Gentlemen in opposition would consent to accommodate the Matter, one Church Warden and Ten Vestrymen would immediately resign their Places and proceed to elect others who might be unexceptionable.

Endorsement on Document 2404.

A Petition of John Charlton, Thos. Moore, and others, who Stile themselves Vestrymen, with a State of Facts relative to the Episcopal Congregation in the City of New York.

In Assembly 21st Feby 1784 Read and committed to a committee of the Whole House to be taken into Consideration with the Bill for making alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church.

In Senate 24 Feby 1784 Committed with the Bill for the Corporation of Trinity Church.

II.

PETITION FOR CONFIRMATION OF CERTAIN WARDENS AND VESTRYMEN.

[DOCUMENT 2405.]

"To the honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New York in Legislature convened :

The Petition of the Subscribers Members of the Episcopal Church in the City of New York

Humbly sheweth

"That your Petitioners have elected to be Churchwardens

James Duane Robert R. Livingston	and	Francis Lewis Lewis Morris
.....		Isaac Sears
Anthony Griffiths		Daniel Dunscomb
Hercules Mulligan		William Bedlow
Marinus Willet		William Duer
John Stevens		John Rutherford
Robert Troup		Anthony Lispenard
Thomas Tucker		Thomas Grennell
Joshua Sands		Thomas Tillotson
Richard Morris		Christopher Miller

to be Vestrymen of the said Church.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that the Legislature will be pleased to insert the names of the persons above mentioned as the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the said Church in the Bill now depending before your honorable Houses respecting the Charter of the said Church.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray etc.

Christo Duychinck	Leonard Lispenard Junr
Jno. Fisher	Grove Bend
E. Blagge	Thomas Witter
Jacob Arden	Peter Hughes
David Man	Jacob Hallett
Gabriel Furman	Wm Morton
Pat McDavitt	James Jarvis
Samuel Tuder	Wm C. Bradford
George Fisher	Cornl Bradford
Leonard Lispenard Terr	James West
Cornelius Haight	Lawrence Burras
John Howland	Edward Phelon
John Hunt	Anthony L. Bleecker
I. Kemper Junr	John Conway
Danl Kemper	John De La Mater
—— ——	Jonathan Pearsel
James M. Hughes	James Prince
Jacob Morris	John Pintard
James Bleecker	Patt. Dennis
David Provoost	Willm Leary
James Nicholson	George Hopson
Jno Cozine	William Talman

Robert Morris Junr
Nichs H. Bogart
Thomas Sanders
B. Blagge
Jacob Tabele
Thomas Smith
John Carrow
Richd Deane
Edwd Antill
Jameson Cox
Thos Betitha
Jos Stringham
John Tanner
Aaron Dow
Davis Hunt
Henry Newton
Peter Arell
Thos Lawrance
Bartho:ew Fisher
William Ketcham
A. Lawrence
Paul R. Randall
Timy B. Mount
Timothy Wood
Abraham Bogart
Arnout Cannon
Danl Dunscomb Jr
John Fleming
James van Brakle
George Yeamans
John Leaycraft
Wm Leaycraft
James Giles
Wm Deane
John Talman
James Brueys
Wm Newton
Ebenr Young
Theod. Fowler
William Post
Gerard J. Beekman
John Wood
Jno Blagge
Mor:r Lewis
Gifford Dalley
Joseph Wallis
Jno Staples
Richd Sibley
John Cape
Richd Penny
Benja. Douglass
Er Raymond
Thos Turner
George Scott
Thos Randall
Saml Fraunces
Andrew Fraunces
Wm Mooney
William Tapp
I. O. Crimsheir [1]
Wm Simmons, for myself & Father
John Simmons
Jas Fairlie
George Leaycraft
John Amory
Gart Roorbach

Endorsement on Document 2405.

A Petition of Leonard Lispenard, Junior, Grove Bend, and others. Shewing that they have chosen the persons therein named to be Church Wardens and Vestrymen and praying that their names may be inserted in the Bill for making alterations in the Charter of Trinity Church."

[1] Very hard to decipher.

In Assembly 21st Feby., 1784. Read and Committed to a Committee of the whole House with the Bill last mentioned. In Senate 24th Feb., 1784. Committed with the Bill for the Corporation of Trinity Church."

III.

PETITION OF THE OLD VESTRY AND THEIR FRIENDS FOR THE ENDOWMENT OF A SEPARATE CHURCH (DOCUMENTS 2406–2411).[1]

DOCUMENT 2406.

John Haskin
Anthony Minnes
John Foreman
Eliezer Heywood
Wm Southgate
Richard Leaycraft
Jno Healy
Charles J. Luling
Moses Rogers
Comfort Sands
Peter Corne
Isaac Gouverneur Junr
Thos Hill
Jno Livingston
Saml Donaldson
John Lewis
Daniel Lawrance
Elias Lewis
Joshua Slidell
Abraham Russel
Wm Bush
David Beckman
Wm Seton
John Lewis Jr
John Douglas

Endorsement on Document 2406.

Memorial and Petition of John Haskins and 24 others. No. 1.
In Senate 5th March, 1784. Read and referred to a Committee of the Whole.

DOCUMENT 2407.

The petition is verbally identical with that of Doc. 2406, but has appended to it the following signatures:

Benjn Hildreth
Timothy Russel
John Webb
John Gallaudatt
Elna Hoyt
Richard Somarindike
Robt. Woods
Stephen Hilliken
James Bryan
Edward Moonney

[1] For the text of this petition see pp. 28 and 29.

Peter Hegeman
John Fowler
Abraham Bogart
Lawrence Lacy
Jameson Cox
John Brunckhorst
John Griffiths
Barnet Savage
Richard Mulheran
Jos. Towers
John Wallace
William Smith
Peter Miller
Samuel Maghee
Michael Hennigar
Samuel Ellis
Obad^{h} Cooper
James Savage
Arch^{d} Herly
John Forrester
William Mooney
Wm Ustick
Isa^{h} Rogers
Joshua Pell Ju^{r}
Mangle Minthorne
Rem. Rapelje
Jacob Tyler
Thomas Moore
E. Coffin
Danl Badcock
Eben^{r} Putnam
Henry Rogers
Francis Johnson
Evert Bush

Endorsement on Document 2407.

The Petition of Benj^{a} Hildreth & 43 others
N° 5.
In Senate March 10. 1784
Ordered to[1] taken into consideration with the 4 first Petitions entered on the journals the 5th Inst.

DOCUMENT 2408.

Petition same as in 2406 and 2407; with the following signatures:

James Egberts
Jonathan Clark
Jacob Crocheron
Moses Egberts
Peter Van Allen
Thomas Cumpston
James Postlethwaite
William Burtsell
Frederick Cockle
John Teare
John Hitcock
William Laight
Edward Laight
Ab^{m} Walton
Harry Peters
Wm Walton
Joseph Rose
Frauncis Dominick

[1] *Sic.*

E. K. Roston
Daniel Tooker
John Acklay
Wm Walton Junr
Huybt C: V. Wagenen
Stephen Sands
Wm Ustick Junr
Peter Ustick
Benjn Stout Junr
Nicholas Carmen
And Gautier[1]
Dan Gautier[1]
Alexander Ogsburg
Robert Roberts
Joseph George
Peter McLean Junr
William Ellison
Jacob Sherred
Stephen Cranford
Abm Ten Eyck
Thomas Burrows
Abraham Bond
Abraham Decker
Robt Allison
Anthony Ackley
Edward Nicolls
John Elleson Jr

Christopher Halstead
Philip Kissick
Wm Hopson
George Hopson
Wm Newton
William H. Smith
Wm Morewood
James Warner
William Post
Saml Farmar
Philip Caswell
Thos Maule
Carlile Pollock
William Urquhart
Robert McCormick
John Fowler
Henry Stanton
Gideon Garstang
Wm C. Hulett
Wm Donaldson
William McCarter
James Crofts
John Fleming
Anthony Pell
Robert Carr
Anthony Ford
Robert Giles
John Webster
Joshua Carr
Nath Shaler
Robert McGinnis
William McGinnis
John White
Jcub Moore
Michael Moore
Johm Armour
Saml Armour
Matthew Redett
Robt Relay
Henry Relay

[1] These two signatures are partly erased.

Endorsement on Document 2408.

Memorial & Petition of James Egbert & 81 others
N°. 2
In Senate 5th March 1784
Read & referred to a Committee of the whole.

DOCUMENT 2409.

Petition same as in 2406, 2407, and 2408, with the following signatures :

William W. Ludlow
James Desbrosses
Peter Goelet
John Goelet
William Ludlow
Robert Watts
Chas. Ludlow
Thos. Bridgen Attwood
John Marston
Thomas White
Gab. W. Ludlow
Aug. V: Horne
James Stuart
Stephen B. Brown
William Brown
John Pine
Robt Smyth
Jn. King
Andrew Kerr
(Name worn out by fold of sheet)[1]
John Charlton
Frans. Panton
Francis Panton Junr.
Thos. Lynch
Saml. Brownejohn
William Burton
John Miller
John Shaw
Richd. Sharpe
James Barclay
Peter Luqueer
Wm. Maxwell
P: re Stuyvesant
Jno. McKenney
Peter P. Goelet
Andrew Hamersley
Theophylact Bache
George Ludlow
Frans. Groome
Mich. Husk
Oliver Templeton
Fred Jay
Thos. Roach
William Richardson Junr.
Albin Cox
George Olive
Hugh Smith
Benjn. Waddington
I. Pierrepont
Joshua Waddington
Henry Waddington
James Bungan
Wm. Wickham
George Dominick
John Bard
Wm. Rhinelander
John Onderdonk
Stephen Rapalje

[1] Possibly James Jacobs.

John Jones
Joshua Jones
Augustus Nicoll
his
Thoˢ + Welch
mark
Jaˢ Muirson
Samˡ Nicoll
Geo. Collis
Charles Stewart
Daniel Aymac
Henry Shingler
George Wilt
Samuel Sackett
John Amory
William Taylor Junʳ
James Stewart
Charles Burrows
Thos. Bayeux
Franˢ Child
John Ten Eyck
John Penon
Aaron Lynn
Frank Atkinson
John Christian Puntzius
Adolph Philipse
John Taylor
Jarvis Roebuck
Richard Bayley
Wᵐ Thomas
John De Lancey
Charles Robertson
Jaˢ G. Cummings
John Yonge
William Yonge
Thoˢ Shepherd
Samuel Rogers
G. Cummings
Daniel Ruckel
Andrew Mercein
Thomas Bruen
Martin Cregier
John Lagear
Silas Totten
Joseph Totten
Ephraim Totten
James Seamans
Oliver Waldron [1]

Endorsement on Document 2409.

Memorial & Petition of William W. Ludlow & 102 others.
Nº 3.
In Senate 5th March 1784
Read and referred to a Committee of the whole.

DOCUMENT 2410.

Petition same as in 2406, 2407, 2408, and 2409; with the following signatures:

Chaˢ Shaw
Thomˢ Ellison
W. Eules
Augˢ V. Cortlandt
Anthony Bolton
John Clark

[1] Really 104 names

J. Shaw
Joseph Stevens
Daniel Ebbetts
John Slidell
Philip Kearney
J. Mallet
John Clark
George Walgrove
John Nicoll
Henry King
Robert Cheesman
John Aymar
James Callow
John Staple
Moses Smith
Daniel I. Ebbetts
Thomas Lowrey
Edward Agar
John Houseman
Abraham Bankear
Edward Nicoll Junr
Saml Doughty
John Doughty
Edward Doughty
Peter Coorleer
John Anderson
A. V. Duzer
James Tillary
Benjamin McDowell
Hugh McDowell
Thomas Barrow
David M. Clarkson
Robert Dale
John Wilkins
James Wills
David Ogden Junr
Gabriel H. Ludlow
Peter Markie
Thos Skinner
Martin Hoffman Junr
Benjamin Seaman Junr
James Wilkes
Mikel T. Reiley
Jno. Leake
John McKenahan
Charles Phillips
Alexander Clark
David Coutant
Philip Wiley
John Clark Junr
John Richardson
Benj. Haight
George Webster
George Stanton
Wm. Kirby
Charles Arding
Sam. Bayard Junr
James Hallett
Joseph Kingsland
Charles Kingsland
Henry Grigg
Thomas Grigg
John Grigg
John Foxcroft
John Sidell
John Carne
Adam Watson
Thos. F. Kipp
Geo. Warner
George Walgrove Junr
Thos. Randall
John Long
Saml Bayard
Jno. Ferrers
Edm^{d} Seaman
James Waters
Ja^{s} Elliott
Robt. Eliott
Thomas C. Murphy
Wm Lorton
John Codington
John Jordan

Wm Whittle
John Parker
Samuel Clapp
Jno W. Vredenburgh
Francis I'ans
Will Cock
William Williams
Daniel Coen
Henry Seaman
Israel Bedell
James Wells Junr
Nicholas Wells
William Wells
Wm Leslie
Garrit Van Horne
Aug. V. V. Horne
Jacob Bodin
Samuel Furdon
Wm Day
Daniel Drake
Wm Giffing
Wm. Scandrell
Robert Carter
Jacob Doughty
D. Downes
John Harding
Francis Giffing
Thomas Paul
Nics Fletcher Junr
Obadh Bowne
Andw Bowne
Fredrick Bowne
Michael Price
James Moore
Daniel McNeal
Joseph Caverly
Lalling Carpenter
Richard Changr Moore

Endorsement on Document 2410.

The memorial & Petition of Chas Shaw & 125 others.
No. 4
In Senate 5th March 1784
Read and referred to a Committee of the whole.

DOCUMENT 2411.

(*Endorsement*)

Memorial & Petition of Benjn Ross & 40 others
No 6.
In Senate March 10th 1784
Ordered to be taken into consideration with the 4 first Petitions entered on the Journals the 5th inst.

Petition same as in 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, and 2410, with the following signatures :

Benjamin Ross
Francis Cooley
Daniel Lawrence
John Titus
John Degroot
John Ackley
Joseph Wallis
Robert Hill
John Murry
Abijah Clark
Wm Brown
William Harris
Robert Fordham
John Fenton.
Saml Godwin
Samuel Walgrove
William Gerard
Thomas Ming
John Utt
Jonas Utt
John Wiley
Isaac De La Mater
Thos. Longworth
Francis Leonard
Robert Leonard
Samuel Bradhurst
John Richardson
George French
Morris Earle
And^w^ Morris
Wm. Dudley
Francis Russell
James Youle
John Youle
John Baldwin
John Ming
Leonard Rogers
Robt Bruce
Henry Rogers
Lewis Rogers
Jonathan Skinner

Documents 2412, 2413, and 2414 have been given in full on pages 86, 87, and 88.

The original memorial referred to on pp. 89 and 90 of text has since been found in the MSS. volume—*Assembly Papers from 1780 to 1831*, folio 51. It corresponds with the text as printed in the *New-York Packet*, of February 28, 1785.

The document is, however, wrongly indexed, being placed under "lands ceded to the State of Vermont."

IV.

ORDINATION OF SAMUEL PROVOOST TO THE DIACONATE.

(Certified extract from the Registry of the Diocese of London.)

EXTRACTED from the Registry of the Diocese of London at Doctors' Commons.

Ordination Book 1675 to 1809.

ORDERS Sacred and General celebrated and conferred by the Right Reverend Father in God RICHARD by Divine Permission LORD BISHOP OF LONDON in the Chapel Royal within the palace of St James's on the twenty third day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty six.

Deacons

Samuel Provoost, A. B. of St Peter's College Cambridge.

H. E. T.

Harry W. Lee
Registrar.

V.

ORDINATION OF SAMUEL PROVOOST TO THE PRIESTHOOD.

(Certified extract from the Registry of the Diocese of Chester.)

I HEREBY CERTIFY that from the records of the Diocese of Chester it appears that the Reverend Samuel Provoost A. B. was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Chester at an Ordination held at Whitehall on Palm Sunday the Twenty third day of March One thousand seven hundred and sixty six.

WITNESS my hand this Eleventh day of Septr one thousand eight hundred and ninety nine.

John Gamon
Registrar of the Diocese of Chester.

VI.

RELATING TO DR. PROVOOST'S RESIDENCE AT EAST CAMP.

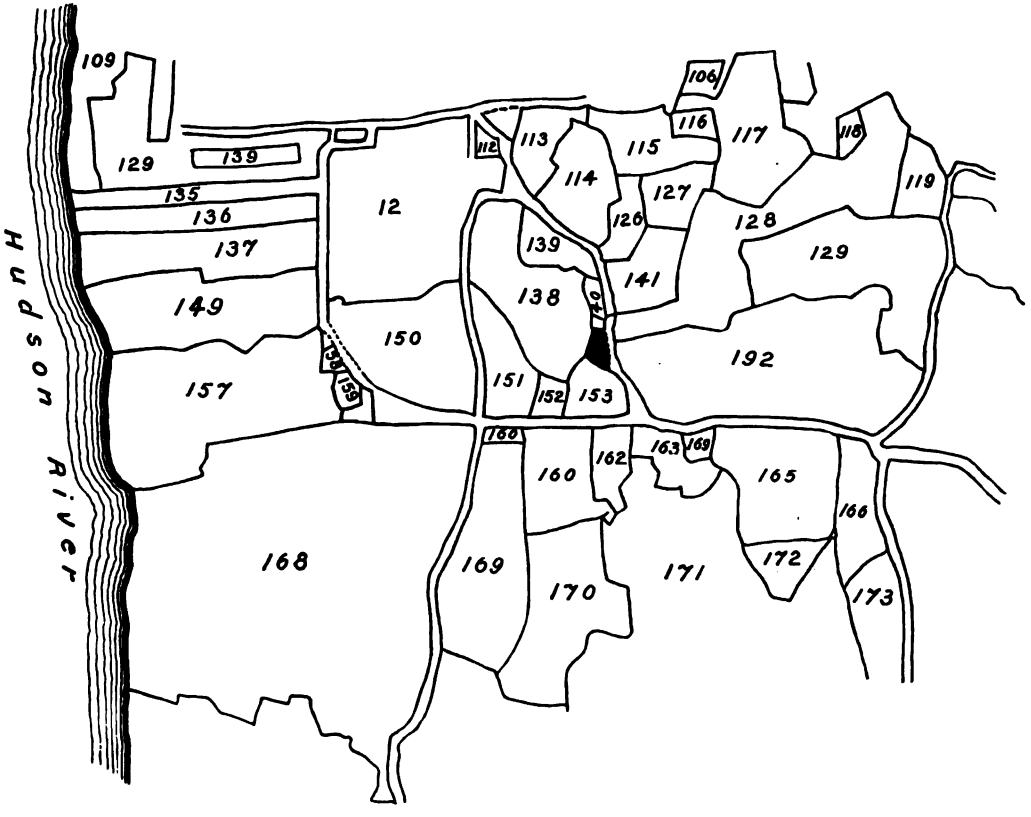
COPY OF A DEED FROM SAMUEL PROVOOST.

East Camp, where Dr. Provoost resided, is now Germantown. Columbia County was formed from Albany County in 1786. The earlier records of Germantown were kept in Albany until about the year 1800. Mr. Erastus Coons of Germantown has kindly endeavored to fix the present locality where Dr. Provoost resided, but unfortunately has been unable to do so. He has gone over a number of old conveyances but without finding any reference to Dr. Provoost. For a time land was conveyed by reference to the number of lot on the map of the Camp, and afterward these small lots were merged in larger farms and the conveyances were made by general description.

Enquiries among the oldest persons in the neighborhood have failed to elicit any information, there being no recollection or tradition of any such person as Provoost living there. Mr. Coons has in his possession the original map made by Cadwallader Colden in 1740 of the 6000 acres known as the Camp. The map is very old and the lines in places indistinct, but most of the lots can be traced. The accompanying tracing of a small portion of the map shows Lot 128, referred to in the following deed, and the shaded part indicates the parcel believed to be mentioned in the deed. The adjoining lots seem to correspond with the references in the deed except that Lot 130 bounding it on the west seems to be a mistake. Lot 84 mentioned in Dr. Provoost's letter lies about one half mile east of Lot 128, and lies north of what is designated as the Church lot on the old map. This Lot 84 is a tract of swamp and woodland. Lot 128 and all in that vicinity are occupied largely with fruit and are among the best in town. There is a brick house considerably over one hundred years old in the vicinity of this parcel of 128.

To all people to whom these presents shall come.—

Samuel Provoost of the Camp in the.....Co. of Alb. and .....the consideration of 5£ Current money of the.....him in hand paid by Samuel Miller of said place.....said yoeman.....and therewith do acknowledge to be.....fied and of every part thereof. Do. Give Grant, Bar.....unto the said Samuel Miller and his Heirs and As.....of Lott No. 128. lying within the Camp. The said parcel or piece of land of Lott No. 128



FROM COLDEN'S MAP, A.D. 1740.

THE SHADED PART INDICATES THE PARCEL BELIEVED TO BE DEEDED BY DR. PROVOOST.

Being Bounded to the Eastward by a Road, to the Southward by Jacob Beyer No. 153. to the Westward by Andreas Mathews No. 130. and to the North by Johannes Blass. No 140. containing about 2. Rood more or less which pieces of land are numbered situated and of such shape or form as they are delineated in a map of 6000. acres signed by Cadwallen Colden Esq. Surveyor General of the Province of New York dated the ninth day of June One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty One.

.....

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the Twelfth day of May in the Fourteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third

.....

Sam[l] Provost.

Signed Sealed and
Delivered. In the
presence of
Jacob Salbach
Samuel Miller
Henry Hyser [1]

It was through the following draft of a letter which is on the back of one of Dr. Provoost's sermons that not only Lot 128, but most probably the portion of that lot mentioned in the above deed has been located.

"D[r] Sir,

"I received your letter and now send the deeds you request, from what Lincoln tells me I believe there is the mistake you mention in the number of the Lots. You can rectify it if you please in what ever manner you think convenient, for fear of any farther [2] error please to be careful. Neither of the Lots which are to be made over to me in the room of No. 84 Should be the Lot of Woodland which has since escheated to his Majesty. We have so little news in general at the Camp this Season of the year that I think myself much obliged to you for the intelligence you were kind enough to send me. Mrs Provoost joins in Compliments to your family."

[1] The dotted spaces indicate where the deed is illegible either from being torn or worn.

This deed is in the possession of the Lutheran Church of Germantown, N. Y.

[2] This part originally read as follows:

"for fear of any farther error it may be necessary to acquaint you that neither of the Lots which are to be made over to me in the room of N[o] 84 should be the Lot which belonged to Ogilby of woodland which Shoemaker gave a deed for to Ogilby and which has since escheated to his Majesty."

VII.

A LIST OF THE MS. SERMONS BY DR. PROVOOST KNOWN TO BE IN EXISTENCE.

SERMONS IN THE POSSESSION OF GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

Placed in the order in which, according to their indorsement, they were first delivered, with notes as to what extraneous matter has been written on the blank pages.

(1) January 11, 1767. St. Paul's, Morning. Trinity Afternoon.
August 9, 1767. St. George's.
Sept. 19, 1784. St. Paul's Morning. St. George's Afternoon.
(Psalm cxxxix., 3.)

At the end there are four litany petitions for the success of the American cause.

(2) March 29, 1767. St. George's Morning. Trinity Afternoon.
1789. April 5. Morning St. Paul's.
(1 Peter iii., 13.)

At the end draft of a letter to Count Claudio Rengone.

(3) Trinity Sunday, 1767. Trinity Church Morn. St. Paul's Afternoon.
Trinity Sunday, 1771. St. George's Afternoon.
Trinity Sunday, 1785. St. Paul's M. St. George's A.
Trinity Sunday, June 8, 1800. St. George's, St. Paul's.
(Deut. xxix., 29.)

At the end three paragraphs relating to the war.

(4) November 22, 1767. St. George's Morning.
December 6, 1767. St. Paul's Morning. Trinity Afternoon.
June 20, 1784. St. George's Afternoon.
(Hebrews iii., 13.)

At the end a letter to "Dear Sir" recommending Dr. Law's *Theory of Religion.* And a writing copy set for some child, probably for Maria Bousfield or Charlotte Davies, as these names are written there. And on the last page a quotation as to the value of knowledge.

(5) July 31, 1768. St. Paul's Morning. St. George's Afternoon.
August 14, 1768. Trinity Afternoon.
June 12, 1785. St. George's M. St. Paul's Afternoon.
January 26, 1800. St. George's, St. Paul's.
February 9, 1800. Trinity.
(Romans vi., 21.)

At the end, a letter headed "Dear Sir," in Dr. Provoost's handwriting, but the context shows it to be a letter from an unhappy wife.

(6) December 11, 1768. St. George's Morning.
December 18, 1768. Trinity Afternoon.
(Matthew xxiv., 44.)

Following on this sermon is another on Ezekiel xxxvi., 27, but without any endorsement as to when delivered.

At the end is a short, loving message, in the Bishop's hand, but apparently from a woman to her lover.

(7) January 15, 1769. St. Paul's Morning.
January 22, 1769. St. George's Morning. Trinity Afternoon.
Whitsunday, May 30, 1784. St. Paul's Afternoon.
December 30, 1797. St. Paul's, Trinity.
June 10, 1798. St. George's.
(2 Timothy iii., 16, 17.)

On the front page are a few verses on the vanity of man.

(8) December 24, 1769. St. George's Morning. Trinity Afternoon.
May 23, 1784. St. George's Afternoon.
(Hebrews xix., 27.)

The same book contains another sermon, delivered
December 31, 1769. Trinity Morning. St. Paul's Afternoon.
January 7, 1770. St. George's Morning.
St. George's, December 25, 1784.
St. Paul's, Morning, December 26, 1784.
(Luke ii., 10.)
and a third, delivered
January 7, 1770. Trinity Afternoon.
January 21, 1770. St. George's Morning.
January 28, 1770. St. Paul's Morning.
June 27, 1784. St. Paul's Afternoon.
(Acts xvii., 30.)

At the end are the drafts of two letters, one to his mother, and one to his brother. On the last page there is the Bishop's autograph, "Sam[l]: Provost," and the signature of the child, Charlotte Davies.

(9) March 17, 1771. Trinity Morning.
March 24, 1771. St. George's Morning.
(Philippians ii., 5.)

At the end are some verses, on the state of the country, beginning,
"When Foxes like Wolves Infest this poor Land,"
and a draft of a letter evidently written from his farm at Claverack.

(10) Acts xx., 38.

A sermon in the Bishop's hand, and on the occasion of Dr. Cooper's death, as the context shows, but bearing the endorsement

"Mr. John Clarke's funeral sermon upon the Revd Saml Cooper D.D. who expired December 29, 1783. Delivered at the Church in Brattle Street, Boston. January 2, 1784."

This sermon by John Clarke was printed by John Gill, Boston, in 1784 and can be found in the library of the New York Historical Society bound up in Volume 42, 2d Series of Pamphlets. The copy written out by Provoost is textually the same as the printed one.

(11) A loose sheet, containing a transcript of the order of Congress for a day of "Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer" for Friday, May 17th. It is dated at the end, "Congress, March 16, 1776."

(12) Psalm cxxxiii., "Behold how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity."

It bears no endorsement as to date, but as it opens thus, "So long a time has elapsed since I have had an opportunity of exercising this part of my profession that I really rise with the greatest diffidence to speak before so respectable an audience," etc., it was most probably the first sermon Dr. Provoost delivered after his return to New York on the termination of the war, at the end of 1784. The sermon itself contains the following allusion to the state of affairs :

"by our foreign alliances, and the benevolence with which He has . . . the different nations of Europe towards us has fixed the independence of America upon too firm a basis to be shaken by the malice of a few disaffected people, if any such should still remain among us."

(13) 1 Corinthians, ii., 23, 24.

It bears no date as to when delivered, nor is there anything in the text to indicate the date of delivery.

The last page contains a short account of Josephus and the quotation from that writer relating to our Lord.

Litany petitions at the end of the MS. sermon on Psalm cxxxix., 1, 2.

"That it may please thee to endue the representatives of our country assembled in Congress with grace, wisdom, and understanding,

"We beseech &c

"That it may please thee to bless and keep the governor and magistrates of this state giving them grace to execute justice and maintain truth,

"We beseech &c

"That it may please thee to grant success to our general and army giving them the victory over all our enemies,

"We beseech &c

"That it may please thee to bless and succour our allies and all nations 'that are in love and union with us.'"

SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE GENERAL CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 11, 1795.

The following sermon was preached by Bishop Provoost before the General Convention at Philadelphia, Friday, September 11, 1795. Being of special interest, as completing, we believe, the series of sermons preached before the General Convention, it is here reprinted in full:

"In the eight Chap: of St. Mark's Gospel and the 38th verse are these Words:—

"*Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my Words in this Adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the holy Angels.*—

"In an Age when Infidelity comes forward with greater boldness than at any former period, and without a blush openly avows its tenets — the choice I have made of these words of our Saviour for my Text — an exhortation to Christians to appear with equal confidence in defense of their holy profession and not to be ashamed of the truly valuable and Heavenly Doctrines of their Lord and Master will not I hope be deemed improper.

"The Superiority of the Christian Institution over the Sublimest System of Heathen Morality clearly evidences the truth of the former; to be convinced of this, we need but oppose to the numerous contradictory systems of human Structure the Sacred Code delivered for our Instruction. To the feeble exhortations of the Heathen panegyrist — the commanding Authority of our Heavenly Master, and lastly to the gloomy apprehension and wild impieties of the desponding pagan — the Humble Joys and Holy confidence of the Expiring Martyr. The pagan Theory, and Gospel Doctrine cannot derive themselves from the same original, if therefore the weakness and inconsistency found in the former, prove it the child of human Error and Imperfection, the exalted nature wonderful connexion, and benevolent tendency of its precepts, evince the latter to be the undoubted offspring of Heaven.

"My design in the following Discourse is in the first place to consider how widely the profession of faith required from the believer of Christianity differs from the simple acknowledgment of its truth. Secondly to point out the reasons why such a profession was enjoined, and in the last place to represent the extreme folly and dangers of being ashamed of the gospel of Christ.

"A Distinction of Doctrines, the one respecting utility as its object, and the other only aiming at the discovery of truth, almost universally prevailed among the sages of antiquity. When these considered themselves as acting in their Legislative Capacity, we find them all except the sect of Epicurus, no longer devided in their Sentiments, but earnest and unanimous in inculcating a set of tenets accommodated to the apprehensions of the people and calculated to enforce obedience to those laws whereon the well being of the Community depended. But when seated on the Philosophical chair, and surrounded by the favoured few they assume a different character and conduct. The diversity inseparable from human enquiries into the nature of God, and future existence of the soul appears in *every* question of their abstract reasonings upon the mysterious subjects; but even in this case reflecting with themselves, that they were Members of Society as well as votaries of Truth, they studiously involved in clouds and obscurity, those Doctrines, which if publickly professed, they were persuaded would prove prejudicial to mankind; for although they concluded, from the immunity of the Godhead from human passions, that rewards and punishments in a future state of existence could not possibly flow from his arbitrary appointment, yet they clearly saw the beneficial tendency of the popular Doctrine, and the exalted love they bore to their country, prevailed with them to profess and inculcate it, although they were persuaded it was false.

"I might here exclaim, shall the Christian who is fully sensible of the beneficial tendency of the Doctrines of his Master hesitate to profess them when he knows them to be true? but I will not anticipate in my reflections upon this subject.

"The case of Socrates must be allowed an exception to what I have been advancing; he was singular in believing the Doctrines he recommended to the practice of mankind, it was therefore in a peculiar manner his Duty both as a lover of his country, and the friend of man to hazard his life in defence of his opinions, and resolutely to oppose the reigning corruptions of his age and nation.

"Whereas the great Disciple of Plato who maintained the old Separation of Doctrine may notwithstanding the censure of Origen be easily

vindicated in a contrary conduct: he also was in danger of persecution on account of the reputed unorthodoxy of his Tenets but he, wisely retreating from the impending storm, left his opinion to the mercy of his accusers and surely he may be justified in doing so, for believing Truth to be disjoined from utility, he was under no obligation to hazard his life in its defense.—

"The discriminating character of Christianity as opposed to the principles of the pagan theorists, consists in an open avowal of those sentiments, which the reason and conscience of the believer declare to be founded in Truth. 'If thou shalt believe in thy heart, and confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Son of God thou shalt be saved.' The Apostle of Christ believing that the gospel of his Master was the gospel of Truth, could not consistently with his principles retain the old distinction of doctrines. He was under the necessity of instructing the meanest of his converts in the same principles of belief he inculcated to those whose intellectual accomplishments had most separated them from the Vulgar. To a more diffusive species of benevolence, than what animated the labours of the Heathen Sage was superadded the Express commandment of God. He might not be silent for woe was denounced against him if he preached not the gospels. He might not prevaricate for he was Guilty of the Blood of Men if he declared not to them all the counsel of God. If therefore the generous ardour with which the unenlightened Instructors of Mankind persisted in their voluntary Labours notwithstanding the almost full persuasion that the grave was the Termination of every prospect, must ever recommend them to our admiration and esteem, the compleat assurance of a Celestial Crown proposed as the reward of his Obedience, shall surely vindicate from all charge of enthusiasm the faithful servant of Christ, even when he seals his Testimony with his blood.

"The reasons why so extraordinary a perseverance was primarily enjoined yet remain to be enquired into — they are founded in the peculiar nature of the Doctrines themselves.

"The Character of Adulterous (another Term for Idolatrous in Scripture Phraseology) with which our Saviour stigmatizes the generation he lived in clearly points out from what quarter the most furious persecution of the gospel might be expected to arise. As a preacher of the Moral Law, he had nothing more to apprehend than what exemplary characters have always experienced in every age the aversion of those who hate to be reformed—but as he was necessitated in order to the full accomplishment of his Design, to combat the religious prejudices as well as the vices of men, it was not from the wicked only he had

to expect molestation. Sensible how strongly inveterate errors maintained their hold upon the human mind, he foresaw that his infant religion would behold with an equal degree of apprehension the patriotic Virtues of a Trojan, and the profligate principles of a merciless Nero. He therefore prepared his disciples to expect the fiercest opposition from the prince of this world while they were laying the foundations of a structure that was to rise on the Ruins of every preceding Establishment.

" Had not Christianity by means of what Pliny calls the inflexible obstinacy of its professors given early proofs of its unsociable Temper, it would perhaps have been eagerly embraced as a new mode of superstition by the credulous Vulgar, but as it was impossible any communion should subsist between Christ and Belial, the rearing of the celestial Standard of Truth, was also the signal for the powers of Darkness to assemble in order to maintain the possession of a world that they esteemed by right of prescription their own. In this case if the soldier of Christ dismayed at the formidable onset, had deserted the plains, and retired to the strongholds of a merely mental confession, success would have emboldened the army of aliens, until the fortress of faith, deprived of all means of succour from without, and betrayed by the fears of the garrison within, must at length have surrendered to the fury of the Besiegers.

" The Doctrines which the Disciples of our Saviour were commissioned to teach all nations were the Unity of the Supreme Cause of all things and the Redemption of Man ; Let us consider what effect a conduct contrary to that of the primitive Christians must have had upon the propagation of these important articles of our faith.

" Whatever may be the nature of the worship paid by the highest order of creatures to the universal creator, the worship of men in this state of imperfection must always be partly external. Religious as well as Civil Bodies require some Rules and Regulations, the welfare of Society and indeed the very frame of our nature demands the use of some external forms as means of begetting and maintaining a Spirit of Devotion in our hearts. The generality of mankind too Lazy to enquire into the real motives of action, have always shewed a disposition to consider compliance with these as an unerring criterion of the inward persuasion of the mind. Now, as it was professedly the aim of the Christian not only to save himself, but those who heard him, Dissimulation would as effectually defeat his purpose as real apostacy, for, however strongly his own heart might be established in the fulness of faith, yet the pagan must necessarily have interpreted his compliance with the

Rites of Heathen superstition as a formal renunciation of Allegiance to his Sovereign and of course have rejected both his credentials and Doctrine. Although, therefore, the Disciple of Christ was justified in asserting that the Almighty dwelleth not in Temples made of hands, and that he who acceptably worships him must worship him in Spirit and in Truth, yet this silent adoration would have little availed towards establishing his Temple in the Hearts of Men, while by eating of meats offered unto Idols and swearing by the Emperor's Genius he in a louder language Disclaimed his Authority and denied his existence.

"The same methods of reasoning may be employed to shew how fatally dissimulation must have obstructed the advancement of a Doctrine which at the same time it inculcates the all sufficiency of the one oblation once offered for the Sins of the whole world declares an absolute inefficacy, and forbids the continuation of any other Rite of Atonement.

"But moreover the sacrifices in which the pagans acknowledged the existence and power of their gods were federal acts of the same nature as the rite instituted by our Saviour in commemoration of his Death, and the Baptismal engagements of the Christian. The obligation in both cases to security was the same, as a distinction between the secret intention of the heart and the evident meaning of the outward form, cannot obtain in a federal act of any kind without an entire disposition of those Bonds by which human Societies are connected. And, therefore, the primitive founders of our faith, had they so far complied with the Rites of Heathen Superstition, as to offer sacrifices on the altars of the Pagans, could not have vindicated their insincerity in those compacts, although their Dissimulation had in the end proved successful. For professing to believe that the same almighty power, which in these latter ages hath spoken to mankind by his Son, before the Christian dispensation spoke to man by the voice of natural reason, must have convinced them that the language of the God of Truth, must be always consistent with itself; and that therefore it was impossible he should permit his gospel to be extended by means of a violation of a duty which the law of Reason declared inviolable.

"A very little experience in the ways of men is sufficient to convince us how much superior is the influence of example in directing the will to the force of the clearest deductions of Reason. And this very frequently in points where the obligations to a duty are obvious to the meanest capacity. In matters even of mere speculation reason rules not alone, but instead of presiding in concerns of Religion the evidences of which should always be submitted to her sole arbitration, she seems

scarcely to have been admitted as an advocate in the courts of pagan Theology. Although, therefore, the arguments in favour of Christianity when once become the prevailing religion in a country must clearly evidence its truth to every candid enquirer; yet there is little ground to imagine its reasonableness alone, would have ensured its advancement in an age, abandoned to the grossest superstition.

"But it may be argued, would not the wonder working powers the Apostles were endued with, have carried irresistible conviction to the heart of every unbeliever? to which it may be answered, that this method proved in a great measure ineffectual towards converting the unbelieving Jews, to whom such a testimony was peculiarly well adapted. In the second place, it is not so clear that the Apostles were enabled to exert this power upon every occasion. However, it is certain few miracles are recorded to have been performed upon the two great Theatres of Arts and learning. Unless, therefore, some other means had been employed for the conversion, these seats of Literature, notwithstanding their boast of a superior share of intellectual light, must together with a great part of the Gentile world forever have set in darkness and the shadow of Death.

"Indeed, the enemies of Revelation have asserted that miracles were really attempted to have been performed there as well as at Jerusalem, but denying that any real miracles were performed at all, have accounted for the deception in the one case, and the supposed detection in the other. From the known credulity of the Jews, and the scrupulous temper of the Heathen whose minds were strengthened and improved by silence, to this we may apply what really seems to have been the case. That the Heathen might be guilty of the weakest credulity in believing the fact, but yet incredulous enough with regard to its author, and therefore the miracle itself might perhaps have been universally acknowledged, but abus'd as they had been by the Delusions of their priests and perhaps by the real illusions of Satan, there might be some Difficulty in persuading them that it proceeded from the father of Lights. But allowing that the pagans might be persuaded these miraculous facts proceeded from the agency of a benevolent power, yet it does not appear probable men in that age would immediately draw the same conclusion that we do in favor of the Doctrine these facts were intended to establish. Most if not all reasonings are plainly the result of associations introduced by education and custom, and confirmed by inveterate Habit. As the associated circumstances differ, the assent or dissent of the mind to the same propositions (even to those which have often been esteemed strictly demonstrative) is varied accordingly; and hence

we frequently observe a mode of reasoning universally prevail in one age and country, which may be held ridiculous or rejected in another.

"Since the Institution of Christianity its defenders have so strongly and frequently insisted upon the pretensions of a Doctrine to credibility when confirmed by the apparent exertion of Supernatural powers, that such a train of reasoning is in a Christian country, in a manner become natural to the Human mind. Nay, so strong is the association that when no doctrine is proposed to be established, or visible purpose intended by the miracle, the highest degrees of evidence are thought insufficient to establish the fact. Whether or no this inference be strictly logical I shall not here attempt to determine, it is sufficient to my purpose, that the modern mode of reasoning did not prevail among men when the gospel was promulged, and that a contrary mode must necessarily obstruct the rapidity of the progress of such an Institution. The highest aim of the Heathen imposter was to raise astonishment in the minds of the Vulgar, in order the more easily to accomplish the purposes which Interest or Ambition has suggested. And the people thus deluded, were for ages accustomed to consider supernatural appearances, either as merely portentous, or at least as declarative of nothing farther than the exalted character of the person in whose favor they appeared to have been exerted.

"Miracles as yet had never been considered as instrumental in Demonstrating the Divine Authority of a system of moral Duties, much less were they accustomed to trace the footsteps of a benevolent or malevolent power in the Doctrines these miracles were intended to enforce. It was therefore natural to expect that this method of argumentation would have little or no influence upon minds so far from being prepared to receive such an evidence that they were prejudiced by associations almost invincible in opinions, which must in a remarkable manner incline them to overlook and reject it.

"The behaviour of the Lycaonians to St. Paul and St. Barnabas, seems to confirm the justness of the observation. When the limbs of him who had a long time been lame were in an instant restored to soundness and strength, the astonished spectators exclaimed that they were gods come down in the likeness of men. But when St. Paul's own attestation, and the evidence of the Jews had persuaded them, that the apostles were men of the like passions with themselves, we find that the multitude attended to nothing but their disappointment, until at length their fury prevailed over their late conviction, and that astonishing strength of argument with which the apostle recommended and enforced his Doctrine.

"From reflecting on some circumstances in their former behaviour, we might be led to imagine that the ambassadors of Christ, thus finding their offers of reconciliation rejected would immediately have had recourse to open violence; and have thought it high time to call in to their assistance those legions of angels, which their master had informed them were attendants of his power. But this the Spirit of their Religion and the example of their Saviour forbade, Christianity had therefore nothing to rely on, but the zeal of its professors in propagating their Doctrine by the milder arts of persuasion, and the inflexible firmness with which they persevered in its defense. When every other method had failed the sufferings of the Martyrs at length roused the attention of the slumbering World, and men became disposed from a motive of mere curiosity to enquire from what principles so extraordinary a fortitude was derived. The refusal of the followers of Christ to join in unavailing offerings for sin, seemed less to deserve the name of obstinacy, when it appeared not to proceed from national prejudice, but from the full conviction that the grand atonement was already made for the sins of mankind. When advancing still farther in their enquiries, the Heathen perceived, that the course of the Christian was supported in the midst of his agonizing torments, by the full assurance of a happy immortality, they could not but confess that conduct was no other than might be expected from men influenced by so animating a prospect. The reasons of this hope became the last subject of their enquiry. And now that the charge of enthusiasm, could not much longer be maintained by the adversaries of the gospel, Truth broke forth from the cloud and men became persuaded it was their interest to be obedient to the Heavenly vision.

"I have been so very diffuse upon the two former heads of my Discourse that I must leave it in a great measure to the consciences of my audience to make the application. It may not however be amiss to observe that the threatenings denounced in the Text are not confined to the times of persecution, but are justly applicable to every age of a sinful and adulterous generation. The difficulties with which Christianity has to struggle now it is nominally professed, are perhaps no less formidable than those which it encountered when opposed by the secular power; insomuch that it requires as great a share of resolution to live a Christian as it did in former times to die a martyr.

"What remains of this Discourse more particularly claims the attention of you my Revered Bretheren of the clergy.

"The real labourer in the Vineyard of the Lord laments that his toils are rendered fruitless through the obstinancy, immorality, nay open

prophaness of those of the same profession with himself. And our weaker Bretheren complain of the scorn and contempt with which those are treated who avow their principles and dare to appear in earnest in their Duty. Strange indeed that the empty scoffs of the unlettered Libertine should avail more than the applauses of the Learned and wise; yet stranger still that men whose minds and understandings have been enlarged and adorned by science should ever blush to own themselves ministers of a dispensation which even the Angels of Heaven desire to look into.

"To the consideration of the timid and half-professing Brother I would urge the terrors of the Lord, if I knew how to describe them in stronger terms than they are already expressed in the Text.

"To those whose guilt is of a deeper dye I am persuaded that such arguments must ever prove ineffectual as some virtue is required to be duly sensible of the punishments that await its base Betrayers. In this case it may be expedient to answer the Fool according to his Folly. Let such therefore reflect that the world though leagued with Infernal powers in opposition to the Cause of Christ in this eminent opposition seems to combat in its cause. The monstrous inconsistencies of their conduct with the sacred character they bear, strikes even the souls of riot with astonishment, who when lost to every other sense of goodness, are yet frequently observed to treat with becoming scorn a minister of the gospel who turns either a Reprobate or an Apostate."

NOTE. — The original of this sermon was loaned by General James Grant Wilson to a clergyman. On the death of that clergyman, a copy of the sermon was found among his papers, but the original had disappeared. It is from the copy, therefore, that the sermon has been printed as above. This will account for the obscurity of one or two of the sentences. Possibly, also, we have not the end of the sermon, as in all the original MS. sermons of Dr. Provoost, the final ascription is invariably written out or indicated.

OTHER SERMONS

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RECTOR, THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY PARISH, AND OTHER PERSONS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RECTOR.

(1) August 2, 1767. St. Paul's, Morning. Trinity, Afternoon. (1 Kings xix., 4, latter part of the verse.)

At the end is the following roster, in Provoost handwriting:

	Trinity.	St. George's.	St. Paul.
Aug. 2d.	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. Provost,
	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Ogilvie,
" 9th.	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis,	Mr. Auchmuty,
	Mr. Auchmuty,	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Inglis."

(2) October 16, 1768. St. Paul's, Afternoon.
October 23, 1768. St. George's. Trinity, Afternoon.
(Mark xii., 30.)

Letter of declination of the offer of St. Michael's Parish, addressed to George Abbott Hall, Esq., at the back of this sermon. Given in full on pp. 52 and 53.

(3) April 9, 1769. St. George's, Morning. St. Paul's, Afternoon.
January 21, 1770. Trinity, Afternoon.
Preached at St. Paul's, February 15, 1784.
(Ezekiel xx., 20.)

The following opening words of this sermon were added after its first delivery. They bear transcribing for their historical connection:

"I formerly discoursed upon these words, but today being fixed upon by the Clergy of various denominations in the City for the reading the King's Proclamation for the encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice, prophaness and immorality and particularly for a religious and careful observance of the Lord's day it may not be improper to recapitulate what I then said upon the subject."

At the end of the MS. is a letter to her mother by Provoost's wife, but in the writing of her husband. Also copy or draft of a letter to Mrs. Provoost's brother, presumably in her writing. It is followed by an amended draft of the same letter, but in Provoost's own hand.

(4) December 14, 1766. St. George's Chapel, Morning.
December 14, 1766. Trinity Church, Evening.
(Matthew v., 44.)

The front page contains the words, "To Mrs. Dorothea Bousfield," in the Bishop's writing.

The last page has his autograph and date 1766. It has also the text from St. James's Epistle, ii., 10.

(5) (No date as to when preached.)
(Psalm xcv., 6.)

The opening words, "It is my brethren with the utmost gratitude to the Supreme Being that I find myself enabled after so long an Inter-

mission to resume the Duties of my Office, and again to unite with you in worshiping and falling down, and kneeling before the Lord our Maker," however, indicate that the sermon was, if not the first, at any rate one of the first that Provoost preached on his return to New York in 1784.

The latter half of the book has another sermon, delivered on

Whitsunday, 1787. St. George's, Morning. St. Paul's, Afternoon.

Whitsunday, 1799. Trinity, St. George's.

(Ephesians v., 18.)

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RECTOR.

The Rector has in his possession five MS. sermons, three of them in the same hand, the other two in different handwritings. There is every reason to believe that they belonged to Dr. Provoost, and were repreached by him, although there is no date or memorandum on them showing when preached. One sermon, however, contains on the last sheet the following roster :

Trinity Sunday.	Trinity Church.	St. George's.	St. Paul's.
	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Auchmuty,	Mr. Ogilvie,
	Mr. Auchmuty,	Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. Provost.
June 21st.			
	Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. Provost.	Mr. Auchmuty.
	Mr. Provost,	Mr. Auchmuty,	Mr. Ogilvie.

In the hope that some reader may be able to throw some light on the authorship of these sermons, the following description of them is given :

(i.) Numbered 78, and containing the following memoranda on the cover :

78. Exercitationes Practicæ. par 3a.

Tis seldom that we see good men so wise for ye concernment of their souls and of Religion, as most worldly men in their secular affairs. On Luke 16.8. *For ye children of the world are in their generation more wise than ye children of Light.*

Preached at Brookland and Old Romney. Oct. 22. 1710. Old Ro : Aug 14:15 Old R. Jan: 25. 1718.

Exercitatio V.

(ii.) 79. The necessity of reproving sinners and severely prosecuting obstinate offenders. Preached at Old Romney October 6. 1700. Box 13. Sermon IΠ. (Rev. 3. 19.)

(iii.) 80. 81. The profession of the Faith of the Trinity Confirmed. 2. Cor xiii. 14. The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God and ye Communion of the holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

2 Ser preached May 28. 1727. O. Ro.

June 13. Trinity Sunday O. Ro. 1731.

(It is this sermon book, containing two sermons on the same text, that has in Mr. Provoost's handwriting the roster above given.)

These three sermons are written by the same person in a beautifully clear hand on paper 7¼ x 5 inches.

(iv.) (a) Proverbs 20. v. 9. Who can say I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?

At the end there is the place and date when preached,— Chorley, March 10, 1731.

(b) Jeremiah. 13. 23. Can ye Ethiopian change his skin or ye Leopard his Spots, ȳ may ye learn to do well who are accustom'd to do evil; and, at the end, Chorley May 21. 1732.

(v.) Heb. x. 22. Sacrament Days.

On the last page is the following list of places where preached:

Liverpoole. N: Ch: May 17th Mat. Sacramt day 1730.

Ditto. Old Ch: 1730. August 1st Sun: in ye month.

Holland. August 23d 1730. Mr Ash: @ His Lady, Neggs & Co:

Billinge. Sepr 27. 1730. Mr Bankes @ His Lady, The Revd: Mr Walley Esqr Wm @ ὅι πολλοῖ.

Whitehaven. 4th Sun: in Advent, 1730.

Holland. Febry 6th 1731[2] Neggs @ ὅι πολλοῖ.

Ditto. Nov. 13. 1737.: April 15th 1738. Wrote over afresh.

Ditto. July 2d 1738. Mat: Neggs @ His, Mr Ashton @ ὅι πολλοῖ.

Ditto. March 18. 173⅞ et Mat: @ Pom: Sacramt: day. Neggs @ His, Ld Master Ashton, Wm Bankes, Cawley @ Hooton, de Wigan, & οἱ πολλοῖ. 2. Sun: in Lent.

Winwick. Decemr 6th: 1741. Mat: Mrs Birchall @ ὅι πολλοῖ. Sactm: day.

And on the previous page there is the entry: "at K S Winford Octobr ye 4th m. 1747." [1]

[1] As a result of inquiries made at the Lichfield Diocesan Registry, it has been ascertained that in 1758 the Rev. William Pigott, M.A., was Rector of Kingswinford, but it cannot be said who was Rector in 1747. The Parish Clerk at Kingswinford reports that on the date when the above sermon was preached, Oct. 4, 1747, there is an entry in the Parish Register, but, unfortunately, no signature of the officiating minister.

From other inquiries it has been ascertained that the Rev. John Deffray was Rec-

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION.

In the collection of MS. Sermons owned by the Corporation of the Parish there are one hundred and twenty-eight sermon books in all. One hundred and twenty-six of them are without any extraneous matter. Two of them have additional matter.

(i.) A sermon book containing two sermons from the same text — James iii., 16 — with the following notes as to when delivered :

November 6, 1768. St. George's, Morning. Trinity, Afternoon.
November 13, 1768. St. Paul's, Afternoon.
July 11, 1784. St. Paul's, Morning.

The second sermon is a continuation of the same subject, from the same text.

November 13, 1768. Trinity, Morning.
November, 20, 1768. St. George's, Morning.
December 4, 1768. St. Paul's, Morning.
July 11, 1784. St. Paul's, Afternoon.

It also contains drafts of two letters.

(a) Draft of a letter in Dr. Provoost's hand, for the full text of which see Appendix VI.

(b) Draft of a letter to Provoost's brother James, given on page 45 of the text.

The first two lines are crossed out. They originally read :

"As I am not overstocked either with paper or news I shall scribble the little I have to say in the blank space Maria has left me."

These lines bear out the contention that it was through lack of paper, while at East Camp, that Provoost made use of the blank pages in his sermon books for writing out drafts of letters, etc. (See pages 39 and 40.)

(ii.) Containing texts set for a child :

"What a pity is it that we can die but once to serve our country."

"Wonder is the daughter of ignorance and the mother of wisdom."

"Man is the only creature endowed with the power of laughter; is he not also the only one that deserves to be laughed at?" etc., etc.

Of the other one hundred and twenty-six sermons, two are specially interesting on account of the occasions when preached.

tor of Old Romney, Kent, from October 6, 1700, to June 13, 1731 ; that the Rev. Thomas Johnson was Vicar of Brookland, Kent, from 1677 to 1727 ; that the Rev. James Ryley was Rector of Chorley, Lancashire, in 1731 and 1732; and that the Rev. John Stanley was Rector of Winwick, Newton-le-Willows, in 1741.

(i.) Funeral sermon on the death of Miss Nancy Buckingham, who died March 8, 1766, daughter of Captain Josiah Buckingham of Milford.

(ii.) On the Anniversary of the King's Accession, preached October 25, 1767.

In these MS. books there are often three sermons in each. The date when preached ranges from September, 1766, to Easter day, April 13, 1800.

The Corporation collection also contains:

(a) Three sermons by unknown authors, repreached by Dr. Provoost, on "The Incarnation," "The Prodigal Son," and "When I am in heaviness I will think upon God."

(b) A MS. book containing extracts from various authors bearing on the question of Schism. All in Dr. Provoost's handwriting.

(c) Fifteen sermons by an unknown writer, written and first preached between January 6, 1750, and April 24, 1774. Mostly repreached by Dr. Provoost, the latest date being September 2, 1798.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

February 8, 1767. St. George's, Morning. St. Paul's, Afternoon.
July 19, 1776. Trinity, Afternoon.
March 6, 1785. St. Paul's, St. George's.
June 24, 1798. St. George's, St. Paul's.
July 22, 1798. Trinity.
Eccles. vii., 14.

The following Italian verses are on the cover:

"O sostegno del mondo,
Degli uomini ornamento, e delli Dei,
Bella virtude, il mio piacer tu sei
Se dalle stelle
Tu non sei guida
Fra le procelle
Dell' onda infida
Mai per quest'alma calma non v'è
Tu m'assicuri ne' mici pengli,
Nelle sventure tu mi consigli,
E sol contento —
Sento
Perte."

The Rev. Joseph Hooper, M.A., of Durham, Ct., has in his possession one sermon preached from Rom. xiii., 12.

VIII.

RESOLUTION AND REPORT OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ON TITLE TO KING'S FARM.

RESOLUTION.

On Monday, November, 1784, "Mr. Adgate made a motion for a resolution, which having been agreed to by the House, the House concurred in a resolution, in the words following, viz.

WHEREAS all lands vested in the King of Great-Britain, while it was a Colony, is now vested in the people of the State. *And Whereas* it is conceived, that certain lands in the City and County of New-York, formerly called and known by the name of the King's Farm, and the King's Garden, is now the property of the State, which was by law sequestered for the use and benefit of the Governor's of the late Colony for the time being; and the said Governor's respectively, were prohibited from leasing or granting the said lands for a longer period than their respective continuance in office. Therefore

Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to examine the laws and records of this State, concerning the premises, and to make report thereon. That Mr. P. W. Yates, Mr. Denning, Mr. Adgate, Mr. Goforth, and Mr. Pell be a Committee for that purpose, and that the Secretary of the State be ordered to furnish the said Committee with such extracts from the records as they may think necessary for the information of the Legislature."[1]

REPORT.

Mr. P. W. Yates, from the Committee, appointed to examine the laws and records of the State, concerning the right and title to certain lands in the city and county of New-York, formerly called and known by the name of the *King's Farm* and *Garden*, reported the following to be a state of facts, relative to the said Farm and Garden, viz.

1st That in the year 1697, Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, then Governor of the province of New-York, gave a lease to the church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, of a part of the said lands, called the King's Garden and Farm, for the term, of seven years; and gave grants of other parts of the said lands to other persons, as fully appears by the following recitals in an act of the then Legislature, entitled, "An Act for vacating, breaking and annulling several extravagant grants of land,

[1] *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York*, A.D. 1784, p. 66, in the Library of the New York Historical Society. (Title-page missing.)

made by Colonel Fletcher, the late Governor of this province, under his Majesty, passed the 12th May, 1699, viz.

WHEREAS their Excellencies, the Lords Justices of England, have, by their instructions under his Excellency the Governor, bearing date the tenth day of November, one thousand six hundred ninety-eight, directed his said Excellency, to use all legal means, for the *breaking of extravagant grants of lands in this province.*

And whereas there is another extravagant grant of land, made in manner aforesaid, unto the said John Evans, bearing date the ninth day of August, one thousand six hundred ninety four, registered in the Secretary's-office, containing a certain swamp and fresh pond, called The Fresh-Water, and adjacent to the *King's-Farm*, formerly called the Duke's Farm, on the island Manhattans, beginning at a stake set in the ground, on the south side of the said pond, and at the north-east corner of the land belonging to William Merrit; thence it rangeth along the south side of the said swamp and pond, by the upland to the beach, on the east-side of Hudson's-River, so along to the beach to the upland, thence crossing a small gut of said swamp, to the land on the east side thereof; thence by the said land as it runs, to the east side of the tan yard, and thence to the place where it begun: To have and to hold the said certain swamp and pond, and appurtenances, unto the said John Evans, his heirs and assigns, for ever, under the yearly reserved rent of one pepper corn.

And whereas, there is another extravagant grant of the *King's-Farm*, in manner aforesaid, being a lease or demise of the said Farm, unto the church-wardens and vestry-men of Trinity Church, for seven years from the date thereof, being the nineteenth day of August, one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, registred in the Secretary's office; To have and to hold the said Farm and appurtenances, unto the said church-wardens and vestry-men of Trinity-Church, their successors and assigns, for the term of seven years from the date hereof, until the said term of seven years be fully ended, under the yearly reserved rent of Sixty Bushels of Wheat.

And whereas there is another extravagant grant of land, out of the *King's Garden*, in manner aforesaid, unto Colonel Caleb Heathcote, bearing date the second of April, one thousand six hundred ninety-six, and registred in the Secretary's office, containing a certain lot or toft of ground, lying without the stockadoes of the city of New-York, near ad- adjoining [*sic*] to the locust trees, which were formerly part of the *King's-Garden;* containing in breadth twenty seven feet, and in length fifty feet; To have and to hold the said lot or toft of ground, unto him,

the said Caleb Heathcote, his heirs and assigns, for ever, under the yearly reserved rent, of One Shilling.

And whereas there is another extravagant grant of land, out of the said *King's Garden*, in manner aforesaid, and of the date aforesaid, unto the said Caleb Heathcote, being a demise or lease of another part of the said *King's Garden*, for the term of forty-one years, which lies vacant and unimproved; being bounded by the stockadoes or fence of the said Garden, so far as the said Garden in the rear does extend, and from the said fence of stockadoes, so far into Hudson's river as low water mark: To have and to hold the said other part of the said Garden, unto the said Caleb Heathcote, his heirs and assigns for the said term of forty-one years, under the yearly rent reserved, of Four Shillings.

2°. That by the same act the said lease and the other grants of the said lands, called the *King's Garden and Farm*, were rendered null and void; and the Governor or commanders in chief of the said province were thereby restrained from granting the same at any future time, for longer than his own term in the government, as appears by the following recital and clauses of the said act, viz.

And whereas it does appear unto his said Excellency and Council, that all and every of the above-recited several and respective grants and demises of land and premises, to all and every the person and persons aforesaid, their respective heirs, successors and assigns, are in fact and deed, absolutely extravagant grants, issued by the said Colonel Fletcher, late Governor of the said Province, under his Majesty, contrary to, and against the trust reposed in him by his said Majesty, and are extravagant grants, according to the true intent, meaning and construction of their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England, said instructions; and as such, ought to be broke, vacated, annulled and made of none effect for ever.

I. Be it therefore enacted by their Excellencys the Governor and Council, and representatives, convened in General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That all and every the several and respective extravagant grants of lands and premises, granted, demised and sealed in manner aforesaid, and heretofore recited and mentioned, within all and every their several respective limits and bounds afore-mentioned and expressed, are hereby broke vacated, and for ever annulled, and of none effect; and all and every the afore-recited grants and demises, in manner aforesaid for all and every the several and respective *tracts and parcels of lands, farms and gardens*, and appurtenances, within all and every their several and respective limits and bounds aforesaid; and all the lordships, manors, jurisdictions,

powers authorities rights, benefits, profits, advantages, belonging unto them, or either of them, shall for ever hereafter cease, determine, and become null and void, and of none effect, to all intents, purposes and constructions whatsoever, as if no such grants, demises and registers of the same in the Secretary's office, had ever been done; and they, the aforesaid grantees, lessees, and every of them, their and every of their heirs, successors and assigns, are hereby for ever hereafter, divested of any right title or claim unto the same, or unto any part or parcel thereof, within the several and respective limits aforesaid; any law to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding: And his Majesty is hereby fully and immediately re-seized and re-possessed, of all and every the before-granted and demised premises, in as full and ample manner, as if the same had never been before granted and demised.

II. And be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every of the grants and demise, for the several and respective tracts of lands, swamps, farms and gardens, as aforesaid, which are registered in the Secretary's-office, shall upon the publication hereof, be obliterated, razed, defaced, and the memory or record of all and every of the aforesaid grants, shall be ordered into oblivion and forgetfulness, as if no such grants had ever been made, or registered in the said office; anything to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

III. And to the intent that it may not be in the power of any of his Majesty's Governors, or commanders in chief for the time being, hereafter to make, for the future, any such extravagant grants of land as aforesaid: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be in the power of any of his Majesty's Governors, or commanders in chief of which shall hereafter be Governors, or commanders in chief, of this Province, under his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for to grant or demise for any longer, than for his own time in the government, any of the lands hereafter mentioned; That is to say, Nutten Island, *the King's Farm*, *the King's Garden*, *the Swamp* and Fresh-Water as they are now limited and bounded, being the demesns of his Majesty's fort at New-York and for the benefit and accommodation of his Majesty's Governors, and commanders in chief for the time being; and if any such grants, or demises, for the future shall be made longer than for the time before mentioned; then all and every of such grants shall *ipso facto*, become null and void and of no use, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding; saving unto the city of New-York, the right they have to the Fresh-Water, and lands to low-water mark, behind the King's-Garden.

3d. That afterwards the aforesaid act was intended to be repealed by an act, entitled, "an act for repealing several acts of Assembly, and declaring other ordinances published as acts of Assembly to be void," passed the 27th day of November, 1702.

4th. That in the year 1705, Lord Cornbury made a grant of the said Farm and Garden, to the church-wardens and vestrymen of the said Church, as appears by the record, of the said grant in the Secretary's office of this State, bearing date the 23d day of November, 1705.

5th. That in the year 1708 at a court held at Kensington, at which was present the Queen's most excellent Majesty, his royal highness prince George, &c. the two above mentioned acts were taken into consideration, when the said act entitled, "An Act for repealing several acts of Assembly and declaring other ordinances published as acts of Assembly to be void," did meet with the Queen's disapprobation; and thereby the said act was accordingly repealed, and declared null and void, and of none effect: And her Majesty at the same time took into consideration, the other act before mentioned for vacating, breaking and annulling several extravagant grants of land, made by Col. Fletcher, and gave her royal assent to the same, and confirmed and ratified the same accordingly as appears by a record of the proceedings entered in the Secretary's office, in the words following, viz,

At a Council, held at Fort-Anne, in New-York, this 15th day of February, 1708.

PRESENT,

His Excellency JOHN LORD LOVELACE, BARON OF HURLEY, &c.

Mr. Wenham,	Mr. Philips,
Mr. Mompesson,	Mr. Peartree,
Mr. Barberie,	Mr. Provost.

HIS Excellency communicated to this board, an order of the Queen in Council, of the 26th of June, 1708, confirming an act of Assembly of this province, entitled, "An Act for vacating, breaking and annulling, several extravagant grants of land made by Colonel Fletcher, late Governor of this Province, under his Majesty," and repealing and declaring null and void, another act of Assembly of this Province, entitled, "An Act for repealing several acts of Assembly, and declaring other ordinances published as acts of Assembly to be void," which said order was read at the board aforesaid, to be entered at large in the minutes of Council and follows in *hac verba*.

At the Court, at Kensington, the 11th day of June 1708.

PRESENT,

The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty,
His Royal Highness Prince George.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,	Earl of Sunderland,
Lord Treasurer,	Earl of Berkley,
Lord President,	Earl of Bindon,
Lord Steward,	Earl of Wharton,
Duke of Somerset,	Mr. Secretary Boyle,
Duke of Leeds,	Lord Chief Justice Travor,
Duke of Bolton,	Mr. Vernon,
Lord Chamberlain,	Mr. Smith,
Marquis of Dorchester,	Lieutenant General Erle.

"WHEREAS, by powers granted under the great seal of England, the Governor, Council and Assembly, of her Majesty's Province of New York, have been authorized and empowered, to make constitute and ordain, laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare and good government of the said Province, which are to be transmitted to her Majesty, for her royal approbation or disallowance of them: And whereas, in pursuance of the said powers, two acts have been passed in the General Assembly of New-York; the one entitled, "An Act for vacating breaking and annulling several extravagant grants of land made by Colonel Fletcher, late Governor of this Province, under his Majesty;" the other, entitled, "An Act for repealing several acts of Assembly, and declaring other ordinances published as acts of Assembly to be void;" by which last act, the said former act, for vacating several extravagant grants of land, made by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, &c. stands repealed, and the Lords Commissioners of Trade, and Plantations, having duly considered the said two acts, and by their representation, this day read at the board, humbly offered their opinion, that his Majesty be pleased to signify his disapprobation of the said act, for repealing several acts of Assembly, &c, and that the said act for vacating extravagant grants be confirmed: her Majesty, with the advice of her Privy Council, approving the said representation, is pleased to declare her disapprobation and disallowance of the said act, entitled, "An Act for repealing several acts of Assembly, and declaring other ordinances published as acts of assembly to be void; and according to her Majesty's pleasure, herein signified, the said acts are hereby repealed and declared null and void, and of none effect: and her Majesty is further pleased to declare her approbation, and allowance of the said act, entitled, "An Act for vacating, breaking and annulling extravagant grants

of land, made by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, late Governor of this Province, under his Majesty," and pursuant to her Majesty's pleasure, thereupon signified, the said act is hereby confirmed, finally enacted and ratified accordingly.

"JOHN POVEY."

"His Excellency likewise communicated to this Board an additional instruction from her Majesty of the 20th of July, reciting the aforesaid order of Council, and directing the governor to lay out two thousand acres of land to each of the patentees, whose lands are by the said act resumed: Which instruction was likewise read, and ordered to be entered at large in the minutes of Council, and follows, in *hac verba*.

ANNE R. "ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS to our right trusty and wellbeloved John Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley our Captain General and Governor in Chief of our province of New-York, and the territories depending thereon in America. Given at our Court, at Windsor, the twentieth day of July 1708, in the Seventh year of our reign.

"WHEREAS, we have thought fit by our order in Council of the 26th of June, 1708, to repeal an act passed at New-York, the 27th of November, 1702 entitled, "An Act for repealing several acts of assembly, and declaring other ordinances published as acts of Assembly to be void": *And whereas* by the said order we have likewise thought fit to confirm and approve an act, passed at New-York, the second day of March, 1698–9, entitled, "An Act for vacating, breaking and annulling several extravagant grants of land, made by Col. Benjamin Fletcher, late Governor of this Province under his Majesty," by confirmation of which act, several large tracts of land (as by the said act will fully appear) are resumed to us, and are in our disposal to re-grant as we shall see occasion: OUR WILL and PLEASURE therefore is; That you may re-grant to the late patentees of said resumed grants, a certain number of acres not exceeding two thousand, to any one person; And in such grants, as well as in all future grants there shall be a reservation to us, our heirs and successors, of an yearly quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence for every one hundred acres, with a covenant to plant, settle and effectually cultivate at least three acres of land for every fifty acres within three years after the same shall be so granted, upon forfeiture of every such grant. &c. A. R."

6°. That in the year 1730, when the then Governor Montgomery made a new grant or charter to the city of New York, (which was confirmed by

an act of the Legislature in 1732) the said lands called the King's-Garden and Farm, and the swamp, were very particularly excepted out of the said grant which exception is in the words following "Except our Fort-George in our city of New-York, and the ground, full boundaries and extent thereof, or thereto belonging; and also, our piece of ground next the English Church, called The Governor's Garden, and the land called, The King's-Farm, with the swamps next to the same."

7° That in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, an act passed for repealing so much of the said vacating act as respected the said swamp, for the reasons therein given; passed the 7th November 1733.

From this state of facts, the said Committee reported, That it appears to them, that the right and title to the said lands, called, the King's-Farm and Garden, were of right before the late revolution, vested in the King of Great-Britain, and now belong to, and are of right vested in the people of this State.

Mr. P. W. Yates, read the said report in his place, and delivered the same in at the table, where it was again read and considered.

Mr. Speaker then put the question, whether the House did concur with the Committee in the said report; and it was carried: in the affirmitive in the manner following, viz.

FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE.

Mr. Clark,	Mr. Goforth,	Mr. Mersereau,	Mr. Townsend,
Mr. Adgate,	Mr. John Smith,	Mr. Cooper,	Mr. Pell,
Mr. Becker,	Mr. Denning,	Mr. Hopkins,	Mr. Sickles,
Mr. Talmadge,	Mr. Burling,	Mr. Savage,	Mr. Baker,
Mr. Paine,	Mr. Purdy,	Mr. J. Livingston,	Mr. Youngs,
Mr. Ford,	Mr. Gilbert,	Mr. Jeffrey Smith,	Mr. Nicholson,
Mr. Jos. Lawrence,	Mr. Lockwood,	Mr. Brinckerhoff,	Mr. N. Smith,
Mr. Cantine,	Mr. P. W. Yates,	Mr. Visscher,	Mr. Harper,
		Mr. Patterson.	

FOR THE NEGATIVE.

Mr. Dunscomb,	Mr. Randall,	Mr. Corsen,
Mr. Livingston,	Mr. Remsen,	Mr. John Lawrance.

Resolved, That the House do concur with the Committee in the said report.

Thereupon *Resolved* That a Committee be appointed to consider of, and report the mode of establishing the right of the people of this State to the lands aforesaid; and, that the Committee who reported the state

of facts aforesaid, be a Committee for the purpose in this resolution mentioned.

Then the House adjourned.[1]

IX.

A HISTORY OF THE TITLE TO KING'S FARM AND THE LITIGATION THEREON.

BY THE LATE STEPHEN P. NASH, LL.D.[2]

The title to the piece of ground upon which the Parish Church was erected, described in the Charter of 1697 as "containing in breadth on the east end, as the said streete of the Broadway rangeth northward three hundred and ten feet," and running west to the Hudson's River, has never been impeached.[3] This plot was subsequently enlarged by a grant from the city in 1703 of the additional strip adjoining on the north, called in the petition the "Burying Place."

The grant from Queen Anne of the "Farm" was by the following description:

"All those our several closes, peeces and parcels of land, meadows and pastures formerly called the Duke's Farme and the King's Farme, now known by the name of the Queen's Farme, with all and singular the fences, inclosures, improvements and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, as the same are now in the occupation of and enjoyed by George Ryerse of the City of New York, Yeoman, or by any former tenant, situate lying and being on the Island Manhattans in the City of New York aforesaid, and bounded on the East partly by the Broadway, partly by the Common and partly by the swamp, and on the West by Hudson's River."

This description, it will be seen, is exceedingly vague, and by it the

[1] Copied *literatim* from the "*Journal of the Assembly of the State of New-York*, At their second Meeting of the Eighth Session, begun and holden in the City of New-York, on Friday, the Twenty-seventh Day of January, 1785. New York: Printed by S. Loudon, Printer to the State. M,DCC,LXXXV," pp. 20–27.

[2] See p. 150, Part I.

[3] And there is some evidence that the ground was bought and paid for by contributions of the Church people who were active in the building of the first church edifice. Thus in their petition to the Governors they asked for a "Lycence to purchase a small piece of land lying without the north gate of the said Citty betwixt the King's *Garden* and the Burying Place and to hold the same in mortmain and thereon to build the said Church." This is the ground on which the church has always stood.

property could hardly at the present day be accurately bounded. It extended along the river on the west, for some distance along Broadway on the east, and its southern line was where Fulton Street now runs. Its northerly boundary was a short distance north of the present Canal Street. But it was the actual occupation by George Ryerse, the tenant, that at the time of the grant sufficed to identify it.

It is in the northerly part of this "Farme" that was embraced a tract of about sixty-two acres which once belonged to Anneke Jans Bogardus, and as to which alone has there ever been any attempt on the part of *private* claimants to impeach the title of Trinity Church. A description of this land will be given later on.

The grant from Queen Anne also includes a piece of land on the *south* of the Parish Church lot, by the following description :

"Also all that our piece or parcel of ground, situate and being on the South side of the Church yard of Trinity Church aforesaid, commonly called and known by the name of the Queen's *Garden* fronting to the said Broadway on the East, and extending to low-water mark on the West."

No claim has ever been made on the part of any *private* owner to this land described as the "Queen's Garden."

But the Farm had long before the grant from Queen Anne been the subject of controversy, not on the part of private claimants but of the successive Colonial Governors, who claimed the use of it as one of their perquisites, and frequently contested the dispositions made of it by their predecessors. These disputes were the prelude of the attempts subsequently made either on the part of the Crown, or after the Revolution by the State of New York, to invalidate the grant of Queen Anne. Governor Andros had granted a lease of it to Dirck Seckers in 1677, receiving the small rental it then yielded. Dongan had claimed the use of it during his administration, and when Trinity Church was chartered in 1697, Governor Fletcher gave to the Church a lease of it for six years, a lease which Bellamont, the succeeding Governor, complained of. The Colonial Legislature of 1699, at his instance, passed an Act vacating several grants by Fletcher, including "the grant of the King's Farm, formerly called the Duke's Farm. After the grant in perpetuity made by Queen Anne in 1705, attempts to invalidate it were renewed, and it was not until 1738–39, as appears already,[1] that, relying on the opinion of Sir Dudley Ryder, Solicitor-General of England, as to the validity of the grant, the Church paid all arrears of rent to "His

[1] P. 220, Part I.

Majesty's Receiver General," and so put at rest all claim on the part of the Crown of Great Britain to impeach the Church's title.

But after the Colony became by the Revolution the State of New York, persons claiming to be heirs of Anneke Jans Bogardus attempted to enlist the State in proceedings to overthrow the title of the Church, hoping in case of success that they would be allowed to share in the spoil. The petition of these persons to the Senate and Assembly of 1784, the answer on behalf of the Church, and various articles on the subject in the newspapers of the day, are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* of 1870, pp. 320–337. A resolution appears to have been passed by the Assembly directing the Attorney-General to bring suit, but no suit was in fact commenced, nor did the State take aggressive proceedings for more than fifty years afterwards.

In 1836, however, Mr. Rutger B. Miller took up the claim and eventually succeeded in inducing the Commissioners of the Land Office to direct an action to be brought on behalf of the State, he to have twenty-five per cent. of the recovery. This feature of the arrangement was afterwards abrogated as illegal, but Mr. Miller still persisted for some twenty years, and finally an action was brought, in 1856, to recover for the State the entire property granted by Queen Anne. It was tried in New York City in 1859, and the claim on the part of the State dismissed. An appeal was taken by the Attorney-General to the Appellate Branch of the Supreme Court, and there the judgment of dismissal was affirmed in December, 1859 (People *vs.* Trinity Church, 30 Barb., 537). A second appeal was then taken on behalf of the State with a like result. The judgment of the Supreme Court was affirmed in the Court of Appeals in September, 1860 (*22* N. Y. Rep., 44).

The first Constitution of the State, that of 1777, which declared its independence of the British Crown, ordained that all grants of land within the State after the 14th of October, 1775, should be null and void, but added "that nothing in this Constitution contained shall be construed to affect any grants of land within this State made by the said King or his predecessors, or to annul any charters to bodies politic, by him or them, or any of them made prior to that day" (Art. 36). This recognition of the earlier grants would seem to have effectually shut the door upon any attempt on the part of the State to impeach the title of the Church, and such an attempt could be plausibly maintained only upon the theory that the lands were in fact Crown lands at the time of the Revolution, and so passed to the State, a theory which assumes the invalidity of the grant of Queen Anne in 1705, and ignores the ratification of that grant by the receipt by the Colonial officials in

1738–39 of the rents due under it. As the English Government never annulled the grant, it is not easy to see how the State of New York acquired any right to attack it. It is not necessary, however, to discuss any of the points involved in this claim, as the elaborate opinions of the Judges in the volumes cited set at rest any notion that as long as titles in the State of New York are protected by the Constitution and the Courts, the title of Trinity Church to its lands can be defeated by any proceedings on the part of the State.[1]

AS TO THE CLAIMS OF PRIVATE PARTIES.

It has already been stated that no claim has ever been made by private parties to any of the lands of Trinity Church, except to that part of the Queen's Farm described in the grant from Queen Anne which embraced the Anneke Jans Farm.

A part of the domain of Trinity Church north of the Queen's Farm was derived from other sources, but no evidence has been discovered of any controversy in respect to this outlying land. Nor is there any record of any serious dispute with any adjacent proprietors. If there was ever any question as to boundaries, it was doubtless amicably settled. There are, in the records of the Church, entries which show negotiations with one Isaac De Reimer (Feb. 19, 1703) concerning a lot of ground belonging to him, also with a Maj. De Brown, and also in reference to a claim of the Dutch Church to lands to which it laid pretensions, and in May, 1724, a Committee of the Vestry was appointed to inspect the "Boundarys of the Church ffarme" and to report as to encroachments. The Committee reported that they had examined the deeds of persons supposed to have encroached, but found that no encroachment had taken place.

It may fairly be assumed, then, that it is the Anneke Jans claim only that needs to be dealt with. As against this claim the right of the Church has been established so conclusively by numerous adjudications that it is only necessary to refer to the volumes of official authority in which the decisions are reported to show that the title of the Church is perfect. But it is deemed proper as a matter of interest, in connection

[1] This bugbear of confiscation by the State is, however, still used by parties who for mercenary ends organize associations and collect money to prosecute the pretended claims on the part of so-called "heirs." Thus, as late as in 1893, one of a committee writes to an officer of the Parish urging a settlement, and adds: "We have talked very strongly of giving over to the State, joining with the escheator to push our claims by the Statute of Escheat. In that event we would get considerable under 25 per cent., while the State would get 75 per cent., and you as a Corporation would be entirely dispossessed except possibly your church and burying grounds."

with the history of the Parish, to give some account of the origin of the claim and of the manner in which it has from time to time been brought forward and as often defeated.

Anneke Jans and her husband Roeloff were early emigrants from Holland and entered into the service of the first "patroon" of the Van Rensselaer manor at Albany about the year 1630. Roeloff subsequently took up and began to cultivate a piece of land on Manhattan Island, for which he received a grant from the Dutch Governor Van Twiller about 1636. The grant appears to have been made to Anneke Jans and her husband Roeloff jointly. He died soon afterwards, leaving three daughters and one son. No will of Roeloff Jans has ever been asserted, and if he died intestate, his half of the farm, assuming that the grant made himself and his wife owners *in community*, descended, under the Dutch law, then in force in the Colony, to his four children equally. Anneke, the widow, however, exercised full ownership over the property, and in 1638 married the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, a clergyman of the Dutch Church, who had come from Holland under the auspices of the West India Company. He was lost by shipwreck in 1647 on a home voyage to Holland. He left four sons, and Anneke, the second time a widow. Whether the four Bogardus sons had under the Dutch law any right to the farm as against the four Jans children would be an interesting question were one disposed to take it up. The widow appeared to consider that she was the sole owner. She removed to Albany and died there in 1663, about sixteen years after the death of Bogardus, her second husband. She left a will, which is on record, dated the 29th of January, 1663, and made according to the Dutch law. In this document she describes herself as "widow of Roelof Jans, and now lastly widow of the Rev. Everhardus Bogardus." She institutes "as her sole and universal heirs her children Sarah Roelofson, wife of Hans Keersted; Catrina Roelofson, wife of Johannes Van Brugh, also Jannetje and Rachel Hartgers, the children of her deceased daughter Fytje (Sytje?) Roelofson, during her life the wife of Peter Hartgers, representing together their mother's place; also her son Jan Roelofson, and finally, William, Cornelius, Jonas and Peter Bogardus." These last were the Bogardus children. She gave, subject to certain legacies, her entire property to her immediate family, "to be disposed of after her decease and divided by them in equal shares," but as to the farm in New York *subject to this charge:* "Provided, nevertheless, with this express condition and restriction that her four first born children [the Jans children] shall divide between them out of their father's property the sum of one thousand guilders to be paid to them *out of the*

proceeds of a certain farm situate on Manhattan Island, bounded on the North River, and that *before any other dividend takes place.*" The will, it will be seen, expressly provides that the entire property of the testatrix was to be "*disposed of* after her decease," and the proceeds divided, and especially that one thousand guilders were to be paid to the Jans children out of the proceeds of the "farm," before any other dividend, thus recognizing a priority of claim to the farm in favor of the children of her first husband.

The "farm" was the piece of land granted to the testatrix and her husband Roeloff Jans by Governor Van Twiller in 1636. This grant was confirmed or renewed by Governor Peter Stuyvesant to Mrs. Bogardus on the 4th of July, 1654, after the death of her second husband. In 1664 New Amsterdam was conquered by the English and became New York, and the heirs proceeded to get a confirmation of their title to the farm from Nicolls, the first English Governor. His grant is on record, and its recitals identify the farm by reference to the grant from Van Twiller and subsequently by Stuyvesant as follows :

"Whereas there is a certain parcel of land lying on this island, Manhattans, towards the North River, which in the year 1636 was the land and bowery of Anna Bogardus, to whom and her husband Roelefe Jansen, it was first granted by the then Dutch Governor, Walter Van Tweller, at which time the said Roelefe Jansen first began to manure the said land and to build thereupon ; the limits whereof did then begin from the ffence of the house by the strand side, so running northeast to the ffence of old Jans land. It's in length two hundred and ten rod ; thence going along the ffence of the said old Jans land southeast, it reacheth to a certain swamp, and is in breadth one hundred rod, and striking along the swamp southwest, it's in length one hundred and sixty rod, and from the swamp to the strand going west it's in breadth fifty rod. The land lying on the south side of the House to the ffence of the land belonging to the company, and so to the east side, begins at the ffence and goes south to the posts and rayles of the company's land without any hindrance of the path ; it's in breadth sixty rod. In length on the south side along the posts and rayles, one hundred and sixty rod. On the east side to the entrance of the Chalk Hooke, in breadth thirty rod ; and along the said Chalkie Hook on the north side of the ffence of the land before mentioned, going west is in length one hundred rod ; amounting in all to about sixty-two acres."

This is the only farm which Anneke Jans ever owned on Manhattan Island, the only piece of land embraced in the grant from Queen Anne to which any of the Jans or Bogardus family had any claim. It was

sometimes called the Dominie's Bowerie or farm. There was another tract which was known as the Dominie's Hook, granted to Anneke Jans by Governor Stuyvesant in 1652, and confirmed to her heirs by Governor Nicolls March 27, 1667 (4 Sandf. Ch. Rep., 700), but this was on Long Island, as will be subsequently made clear. In early days there was some confusion in the matter, the grant on Long Island having apparently been forgotten by the descendants of Mrs. Bogardus, and the appellation Dominie's Hook was frequently given to the farm on Manhattan Island, which, however, was more generally and with greater propriety called the Dominie's Bowerie.

The title of the children of Mrs. Bogardus to the "farm" referred to in her will being confirmed by the grant from Governor Nicolls of March, 1667, they were able to dispose of it as directed by the will, and the next document affecting it that has been found is the record of a deed of the entire "farm" to Francis Lovelace, Nicolls's successor as Governor of the Colony, under date of March 9, 1670–71. This record, made according to the Dutch forms, runs as follows:

"Anno 1670–71, March the 9th, Have Johannes Van Brugh, in right of Catrina Roeloss his wife, and attorney of Pieter Hartgers, William Bogardus, for himself and his brothers Jan Roelosson and Jonas Bogardus, and Cornelius Van Bursen [Borsum] in right of Sara Roeloss, his wife, and by assignment of Peter Bogardus, all children and lawful heirs of Annetie Roeloss, late widow of Dome Bogardus, deceased, for a valuable consideration, transported and made over unto the Right Honble Colonel Francis Lovelace, his heirs and assigns, their farm or bouwery commonly called or known by the name of Domenee's Bouwery, lying and being on Manhattan's Island, towards the North River, the quantity of ye land amounting to about sixty-two acres, as in the former ground brief from Governor Stuyvesant, bearing date the 4th day of July, 1651, and the confirmation thereupon from Governor R. Nicolls, bearing date ye 27th of March, 1667, is more particularly set forth — which transport was signed by them and acknowledged before the alderman, Mr. Olof Stevenson, Cortlandt and Mr. John Laurence."

It will be noticed that the "farm" is identified by the reference to Gov. Nicolls's confirmatory grant. The price paid for the property is not stated. The purchase would appear to have been made by Lovelace on his private account (the grant runs to "his heirs and assigns"), but whether he bought for himself or as Governor is unimportant, as all his property—and he had been a large purchaser of land — was ultimately confiscated to the British Crown on account of his indebtedness as Governor.

Immediately after his purchase, however, Lovelace incorporated the "farm" with the parcel which bounded it on the south known as the "Company's" land, and by so doing would seem to have treated his purchase as being on account of the government. The Company's farm was the land of the West India Company, which upon the conquest of the Colony by the British became part of the property of the Duke of York. In the Nicolls patent the southern boundary of the Anneke Jans farm is "the fence of the land belonging to the company."

The consolidation of the two farms is shown by a lease which Lovelace, after the purchase from the heirs, proceeded at once to make to one Dirck Seckers or Siecken for three years from the 25th March, 1671, to 25th March, 1674. This appears from a record of the lease lately found among the Dutch records at Albany, which is here given in full:

"Mr. Isack Bedloo, as attorney and by order of the Honourable Governour Francis Lovelace, on one side, and Dirck Siecken, farmer, on the other side, have in friendship and good feeling made a contract concerning the lease of the below mentioned *farms* and dependencies thereof under these conditions, to wit:

"Said Isack Bedloo attorney as aforesaid declares to have let and said Dirck Siecken admits having rented for the term of three consecutive years, beginning on the 25th day of March, next and ending on the 25th day of March A. D. 1674, certain lands belonging to the Honourable lessor outside of the land gate of this city, called the Old Companys Bouwerie and *Dominies* Bouwerie (farms), with all the pasture and woodland and half of the valley and other privileges thereto belonging as the same *has heretofore been held and used in lease* by said Dirck Siecken, who shall have the right to cultivate, pasture and use the said lands according to his pleasure during the term of his lease, without the lessor having the power to prevent or molest and tax him with the pasturage of any horses or cattle, unless with the free will and permission of the lessee, Dirck Siecken aforesaid.

"The lessee, Dirck Siecken, shall be allowed to live in and use the old dwelling house or to remove from it, when he thinks fit, without being in anywise held or obliged to bear any risks for said house, but all the deterioration or decay of it shall be at the expense of the lessor.

"It is covenanted and agreed, that the lessee, Dirck Siecken, shall be allowed to move the hay and grainstacks now standing near the old house, to any place, where he thinks it fit, even beyond the boundaries of lessor's land.

"The lessee, Dirck Siecken, shall be held and obliged to deliver the

land at the end of his term *properly fenced*, that is in the same way, as lessee is obliged to deliver these fences to lessor now at the expiration of his former lease.

"The lessee, Dirck Siecken, undertakes and promises to pay or cause to be paid to lessor as rent for these farms, the sum of six hundred guilders (240.00/00) in wampum or its value in good merchandise for each year before or at the end of each year of his term, which is as aforesaid on the 25th of March of these years of lease. For the carrying out of the foregoing conditions the parties of the first and of the second part bind their persons and property, real and personal, submitting to all laws and courts. In Testimony Whereof, the original record has been signed in my presence by lessor and lessee at New York, the 25th of February 1671/2. CHRISTOFFELL HOOGHLAND and PIETER JACOBSEN MARIUS, witness. "Attest:

"N. BAYARD, Secretary."

It will be seen by this lease that it was a renewal to Dirck Siecken of a lease he already held, the description defining the property "as the same has heretofore been held and used in lease by said Dirck Siecken." He was probably in occupation as tenant when the "heirs" sold to Lovelace. And the land is described as *fenced*, the tenant undertaking to surrender the land "properly fenced, that is in the same way, as lessee is obliged to deliver these fences to lessor now at the expiration of his former lease."[1]

Before this lease expired the Colony had been retaken from the English by the Dutch in 1673, and Lovelace disappeared both as Governor and as landlord of the farm. The occupation by the Dutch, however, was for a period of only about fifteen months, as the Colony reverted to the English on peace being made between England and Holland. During this short interregnum Dirck Siecken does not appear to have been disturbed as tenant of the farm. He probably held over for a year or two after the termination of his lease from Lovelace, for we find that Governor Andros renewed the lease to Dirck Siecken for twenty years from March 25, 1677 (4 Sandf. Ch. Rep., 727). Siecken held under this lease until 1697, and he is accordingly shown in occupation of the *entire farm* as tenant of the English Governors, paying them rent from 1670 to 1697, twenty-seven years, without there having been, so far as appears, any complaint or claim of title on the part of the Anneke Jans-Bogardus heirs.

[1] Land being fenced is an important fact in all questions of adverse possession, a fence being a visible sign of ownership, of exclusion as against others.

These facts establish conclusively that the popular error, made much of in the controversies of 1784, that the farm had been lost to the "heirs" by the aggressions of a rich and powerful ecclesiastical corporation, has no basis whatever. The heirs sold the farm to the English Governor twenty-seven years before the movement to establish Trinity Church was set on foot, in 1697, and the entire tract, consisting, as the lease from Andros shows, of the Company's Bowerie and of the Dominie's Bowerie adjoining it on the north, was held in undisputed possession by the tenant of the English Governors during all this period, he paying rent to them.

Fletcher, who was then Governor, gave to the Church when incorporated, in 1697, a lease of the farm dated Aug. 19, 1697, for seven years. Siecken's lease had expired, but he apparently remained in possession as sub-tenant of the Church. The lease to the Church was subsequently extended by Governor Cornbury for the term of his office at a rental of sixty bushels of wheat. Cornbury remained Governor until 1708, when the lease would by its terms have come to an end, but before this date the grant from Queen Anne was obtained in 1705, one George Ryerse being then in possession as under-tenant of the Church. Ryerse was one of the family of Dirck Siecken, whose rights as lessee he had acquired, and so the *continuous* occupation of the farm for thirty-four years by tenants, at first of the English Governors, and then of the Church, an occupation never disturbed by any adverse claim, is brought down to the date of Queen Anne's grant, in which the farm is described, as already stated, "as formerly called the Duke's Farme and the King's Farme, now known by the name of the Queen's Farme . . . as the same are now in the occupation of George Ryerse."

There can be no doubt, as already shown, that the "Queen's Farme" so granted was composed of the same tract leased by Lovelace to Dirck Siecken in 1671 by the description of the "Old Companys Bouwerie and Dominies Bouwerie," occupied, cultivated, and kept in fence by him, and it is equally certain that the heirs of Anneke Jans Bogardus acquiesced during all this period in the sale to Lovelace as having ended all their rights in the property.

The acquiescence was still longer. There is no evidence of any assertion of right on the part of any claimant earlier than the minute of the Vestry of August, 1738, relating to the claim set up "by the heirs of one Bogardus." This was *sixty-eight* years after the cession to Lovelace. At this date there was certainly no one living of the parties to that grant.

The "claim" soon took the form of aggressive trespasses by the

so-called heirs upon the tenants of the Church. In 1746 an indictment was found against Jacob Brower and others for a forcible entry upon the possession of one Vredenburg, who at this time held a portion of the farm under lease from the Church, and the defendants were convicted on the 3d of August, 1746, the adjudication being that the trespassers had no estate or right in the premises. As this proceeding, however, affected only the particular parcel intruded on, it was, of course, indecisive as to the rest of the farm. In 1749, however, a suit in ejectment was commenced by Cornelius Brower, which was dismissed for want of prosecution in 1752. In 1758 another suit in ejectment was commenced by the same or another Brower for sixty-three acres of land (the area of the Anneke Jans farm) against the Church tenants. This action was tried "at the bar" of the Supreme Court, a privilege granted on special application on the ground of the importance of the controversy. The following notice of the trial appeared in the *New-York Mercury* of October 27, 1760:

"Last Week a remarkable Tryal, which has been in the Law nearly 20 years, came on in the Supreme Court here, between *The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York of the Church of England, as by Law established*, and the family of the *Browers*, who sued for 62 acres of the King's Farm; when the jury, after being out about 20 Minutes, gave their Verdict in favour of the *Defendants*."

This notice is erroneous so far as it implies that the particular case then tried had been in *court* for twenty years, but is true in view of the claims made under color of law, as shown by the Vestry minutes of 1738, and of the trespasses of 1746, already referred to.

The record of this trial, if still in existence, has eluded careful search, and the grounds of the decision cannot now be presented. It is probable that the long-continued and undisturbed possession of the farm by the Church was considered a conclusive answer to the plaintiffs' pretensions. The grant by the "heirs" to Governor Lovelace in 1670 does not seem to have entered into the case. It had either been forgotten by them or was intentionally concealed. The officers of the Trinity Corporation never learned of this grant till 1785, when a Mr. De Hart (said to have been employed in the office of Alexander Hamilton) found the deed in the course of some antiquarian researches. It was at once communicated to representatives of the Bogardus claim by the following letter:

"New York, 2d December, 1785.

"Gentlemen — We take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you the enclosed copy of the record of a transfer to governor

Lovelace of Dominie's Hook, from the heirs of Annetje Bogardus, and to which, though afterwards granted by government to Trinity Church, you now claim to have inherited from them. Time and long uninterrupted possession had, it seems, worn away the memory of this transfer, and the evidence of it would probably still have remained dormant, if Mr. De Hart (who is deeply interested in your claims) had not accidentally discovered this record, and from a regard to justice, which does him great honor, made it known."

It will be noticed that in this letter the farm is erroneously called Dominie's *Hook*, as it is in the publications already referred to of the proceedings of the Bogardus heirs before the State Legislature in 1784. The discovery of this deed would appear to have convinced the "heirs" that their case was hopeless, for no suit in their behalf appears to have been commenced after the trial of 1760 until more than forty years later, when one Malcolm brought an action which was tried in 1807 and resulted in a verdict for the Church.

Without enumerating various actions which were subsequently commenced, and either not prosecuted, or dismissed on indecisive grounds, it seems proper to explain the general position of the Church at that period. It relied, of course, upon its grant from Queen Anne, and in reply to the claim that the Anneke Jans title antedated that of Queen Anne, it was open to the Church to answer, either (1), assuming that to be so, you, the plaintiff, do not show that you have any title under Anneke Jans, or (2), but all the heirs of Anneke Jans had lost their rights, if they ever had any, for the lands were, at the time of the grant from Queen Anne, the property of the Crown, and under the grant from the Crown the Church acquired a good title which has been confirmed by continuous and undisturbed possession.

The first answer would have put the plaintiff or plaintiffs in any one suit to genealogical proof, and their failure to establish their pedigree would not have included any other of the so-called heirs. The second defence, therefore—the title under Queen Anne with long possession—was the one adopted by the Church, and so the descent of the claimants was either not involved, or was shown in a loose and general way. The Browers, who were prominent in the controversies of 1740–84, could never have made a case which would have put the Church on its defence if the deed to Lovelace had been known, for the Browers were descended from William Bogardus, who joined in the deed to Lovelace; and besides, the Brower claim was by descent from a *daughter* of William Bogardus, who under the law of descent prevailing in

the Colony at the time of his death could not have inherited as against his oldest son.[1]

We come now to an action commenced in or about 1830, on behalf of John Bogardus, claiming to be a lineal descendant of Cornelius, the second Bogardus, son of Anneke Jans, as named in her will. It will be seen by inspection of the grant of 1670–71 to Governor Lovelace, that it does not purport to be executed by or on behalf of this Cornelius, and, accordingly, the astute counsel who at this period had charge of the claims, took the plausible position that as Cornelius became on his mother's death tenant-in-common with his brothers and sisters of the farm, owning an undivided eighth, and had not joined in the deed, Trinity Church held the shares acquired from his brothers and sisters as *tenant-in-common* with him, and that, therefore, the long-continued possession of Trinity Church was not *adverse* to him or his descendants, or, in other words, that the statutes of limitation did not bar the claim of those descendants. The action sought an account of the rents and profits of the share so claimed.

The plea on the part of the Church was to the effect that it never took its title under the grant to Lovelace, but under the patent of Queen Anne thirty-five years later, which purported to grant *the entire estate* and not any undivided shares in it, and so that the possession of the Church had always been *adverse*, and not that of a tenant-in-common.

The pedigree of the plaintiff in this case is traced, with some unimportant inaccuracies, from Cornelius, the son of Anneke Jans Bogardus, to a Cornelius of the fourth generation who is stated in the plaintiff's Bill of Complaint to have been born in 1726 and to have died intestate in 1794, sixty-eight years old. On this statement, he lived forty-seven years after attaining his majority, so that the statute of limitations was available to the Church on the plaintiff's own showing. In 1794 the law of primogeniture had been abolished and estates descended to children in equal shares. Accordingly, the plaintiff in that action, John Bogardus, alleged that there were four other children of his father besides himself, and so he claimed one-fifth of the share of his ancestor.

This suit of John Bogardus was thoroughly tried and his claims presented and urged by counsel of great ability. It was the only case ever brought into court in which the claimant could show a plausible pedigree by direct descent from one of the male heirs of Anneke Jans.

[1] Jan. 8, 1682, Jacobus Brower married Annetje Bogardus, daughter of William Bogardus (*N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 50).

The sufficiency of the plea by the Church of long possession under the grant from Queen Anne was first objected to by the complainants, but the plea was held good, if true in fact, by a decision of Chancellor Walworth in favor of the Church in 1833.[1] An appeal was taken, but before it was argued John Bogardus died and his children revived the suit. The appeal from the Chancellor's decision was to the Court for the Correction of Errors. In that Court the decision of the Chancellor was affirmed in 1835.[2]

The decision as to the sufficiency of the plea permitted the complainants to reply to it. This reply gave both parties the right to give evidence as well to support as to refute the facts alleged in the plea. Testimony on both sides was thereupon taken at great length, and the action came finally to a hearing before Vice-Chancellor Sandford in New York, in 1845. The argument occupied five days. The decision was rendered in June, 1847. The report of the case occupies 129 pages of the official volume.[3] The opinion of the Court contains a thorough examination of every point upon which the plaintiffs relied, as well as a painstaking study of the evidence, and concludes as follows:

"And now that I have been enabled to examine it carefully, and with due reflection, I feel bound to say, that a plainer case has never been presented to me as a judge. Were it not for the uncommon magnitude of the claim, the apparent sincerity and zeal of the counsel who supported it, and the fact (of which I have been oftentimes admonished, by personal applications on their behalf) that the descendants of Anneke Jans, at this day, are hundreds, if not thousands, in number; I should not have deemed it necessary to deliver a written judgment on deciding the cause. . . . But the law on these claims is well settled; and it must be sustained in favor of religious corporations as well as private individuals. Indeed, it would be monstrous, if, after a possession such as has been proved in this case, for a period of nearly a century and a half, open, notorious, and within sight of the temple of justice; the successive claimants, save one, being men of full age, and the courts open to them all the time, (except for seven years of war and revolution;) the title to lands were to be litigated successfully, upon a claim which has been suspended for five generations. Few titles in this country would be secure under such an administration of the law; and its adoption would lead to scenes of fraud, corruption, foul injustice and legal rapine, far worse in their consequences upon the peace,

[1] 4 Paige's Rep., 178. [2] 15 Wend. Rep., 111.
[3] 4 Sandf. Ch. Rep., pp. 633–762.

good order and happiness of society, than external war or domestic insurrection."

No appeal was ever taken from this decision. The case had been in court some seventeen years. None of the heirs could in respect to their pedigree have shown a more direct descent — a descent from the only heir who did not join in the deed to Lovelace. All available evidence was produced, and the judgment of the Court placed the title of the Church upon an impregnable basis. There were some other mutterings after the storm, but the sky was cleared. The later suits will be referred to only to show the surpassing ingenuity of the counsel who had charge of the claims against the Church, in varying the mode of attack.

A few years after the commencement of the Bogardus suit (1834) one Jonas Humbert united with other heirs in bringing an action for "the farm" upon the ingenious theory that though the Church might have title to that portion of the King's Farm so called which did not include the Anneke Jans tract, it had by fraud caused a confusion of boundaries, so that under color of the grant from Queen Anne it had obtained a larger tract of land than this grant, construed with due regard to the rights of the heirs, would have given. In order to sustain this view the plaintiffs set out the Dominie *Hook* patent for 130 acres, and charged that the Church had under its grant from Queen Anne fraudulently taken possession of the land described in this patent, as well as of the farm of sixty-two acres.

The averments of the Bill of Complaint in this case placed the date when the Church first took possession, and since which it had been in continuous occupation as owner, so far back that the suit could properly be met by a demurrer, that is, by the position that conceding all the allegations of the Bill, the long adverse possession by the defendant barred the claim.

The case first came on for hearing before Vice-Chancellor McCoun in New York, who held the Bill defective in form and sustained the demurrer. He appears, however, to have been of the opinion that if the alleged confusion of boundaries could be shown, the plaintiffs might be entitled to relief notwithstanding the statutes of limitation, and accordingly gave the plaintiffs leave to amend their Bill by stating more definitely what lands claimed by them were in possession of Trinity Church. They did not avail themselves of this permission, but appealed to the Chancellor, who affirmed the decision, and then finally to the Court for the Correction of Errors, where the case was decided in favor of the Church, in December, 1840.[1]

[1] Humbert *vs.* Trinity Church, 7 Paige, 195; 24 Wend., 587.

In this case the plaintiffs made no reference to the grant from the heirs to Lovelace. In the Bogardus suit that grant was brought forward and the omission of Cornelius Bogardus to join in it made the basis of the claim on the part of his descendants. But in the Humbert suit the plaintiffs claimed by descent, some of them from Anna, a daughter of William Bogardus, the others, from Sarah Kiersted, a daughter of Anneke Jans. But William Bogardus, and Sarah Kiersted by her then husband Cornelius Van Borsum, had joined in the deed to Lovelace, and accordingly the claimants did not produce that grant. The position was substantially this: Assuming you have some sort of a title to the 62 acres, you have none to the 130, and under color of the grant of the King's Farm you have confused the boundaries and got possession of the lands covered by both patents.

As already stated, the term Dominie's Hook had in early times frequently been applied to the farm on New York Island. That it was so applied erroneously is now beyond question. Chancellor Walworth, in his opinion in the Bogardus case, spoke of "the error of supposing that Dominie's Hook and the Dominie's Bowerie were but different names for the same premises," but Senator Furman, who was a member of the Court that decided the Humbert case, seems to have been the first to make it clear that the tract of 130 acres called in the patent "Dominie's Hook," was on Long Island, not on Manhattan Island.[1] The description in the patent of the land as "lying on the north side of Maspats Kills" settled the question. There was no such stream on Manhattan Island. The property is now a part of Hunter's Point and belongs to Union College. It was conveyed in 1697 to one Pieter Praa, by Johannis Van Brugh and Johannis Kip, acting "for themselves and in behalf of the rest of the children and heirs of Anneke Bogardus, deceased," and has come down from Pieter Praa by a complete chain of title to the present owners. Trinity Church never occupied, never had any interest in, and never made any claim to, this land.

Whether the "heirs" or the managers of their case knew the facts in reference to this grant during the fifty years (1784–1834) in which they were claiming that Trinity Church had possession of Dominie's Hook, it is not safe to aver. There are indications that the Bogardus suit and the Humbert suit were prosecuted by a committee acting in the same interest. Each of them was based on false statements, but made in separate actions, upon the idea that if one failed the other might possibly succeed.

Some notice ought not to be omitted of the curious case of Van

[1] 24 Wend. Rep., 619, 620.

Giesen *vs.* Bridgford, in which one Van Giesen, claiming to be a descendant of Anneke Jans, and having in possession some articles of personal property, applied to the Surrogate of Albany in July, 1877, for letters of administration upon her estate upon the allegation that the records did not show that her estate had been administered and settled. The theory of the proceeding seems to have been that as the will of Mrs. Bogardus directed her property to be disposed of, this direction operated as an equitable conversion of it into *personal property*, and so an administrator could hold all parties who had got possession of it, or its proceeds, to account therefor. The Surrogate denied the application. Van Giesen then appealed to the Supreme Court. That Court in 1879 affirmed the judgment of the Surrogate, and a final appeal being taken to the Court of Appeals, the decisions of the Surrogate and of the Supreme Court were there affirmed, in 1881.[1]

Trinity Church was not a party to this proceeding. Among the documents laid before the Court, however, were several which have an important bearing on the claims of the "heirs," and the opinions rendered by the judges are clear expositions of the rule that long acquiescence in a state of affairs furnishes a strong moral as well as legal evidence against a disturbance of that state. It should be presumed, said Andrews, Chief Justice in the Court of Appeals, "that administration had been had of the estate of Anneke Jans, and the estate settled in the course of time, or, in the alternative, that the rights and interests of all the parties interested were satisfactorily adjusted between themselves."

This presumption applies very directly to the disposition of the "farm" on New York Island, which was but a portion of Mrs. Bogardus's estate. It was charged with the sum of one thousand guilders in favor of the four Jans children. Did they get the money out of the sale? Cornelius did not join in the deed to Lovelace, and he and his mother were both interested in the surplus, if there was any. Were they settled with, or were they defrauded by the Bogardus heirs who conducted the sale and joined in the deed? An acquiescence in the sale for more than seventy years appears before any of the heirs made their complaint in 1738. That they then thought they had some rights may be charitably assumed to be due to ignorance of the disposition that had been made of the "farm" in early days, but the more fully the facts have been brought to light the more clearly has it been made to appear that if in the sale of the farm any wrong was perpetrated upon any of the devisees under Mrs. Bogardus's will, the wrong was perpetrated by members of the family, not by Trinity Church, which was not incorporated

[1] 18 Hun. Rep., 73; 83 N. Y. Rep., 348.

till twenty-seven years later. During that long period there was entire acquiescence in the ownership of the farm by the British Crown, and when the grant of the farm was made to Trinity Church by Queen Anne in 1705, not only had any possible rights of the heirs lapsed by long acquiescence, but no assertion of such rights had ever been made. The title of Trinity Church accordingly is not only perfect in law, but absolutely free from any taint of injustice in its origin.

Many other suits might be mentioned besides those specially referred to. All later ones have been brought in aid of schemes fraudulently set on foot to obtain contributions from the so-called heirs. From time to time fresh organizations are formed under the pretence that facts newly discovered make success certain in a threatened attack. Many are deluded into furnishing money to aid the promoters in these swindling operations. But no suit on behalf of the Anneke Jans claimants *has gone to trial* since the Bogardus case was decided in 1847; and to the long-continued possession which was held in that case to be a complete answer to the claim of any "heir" may now be added the continued and undisturbed possession of over fifty years since that decision.

The judges before whom these cases have come have, whenever an appeal has been taken, concurred with great unanimity in the judgments reviewed, so far as any merits of the claims were discussed. In the Bogardus case, the Chancellor's decision in favor of the sufficiency in form of the defence set up by the Church was affirmed in the Court for the Correction of Errors, nineteen senators and judges taking part in the decision, and four only dissented, on technical grounds. From the decision of Vice-Chancellor Sandford, the only case in late years disposed of on evidence, *no appeal was taken.* In the Humbert case, the decision of the Vice-Chancellor was affirmed by the Chancellor, then unanimously by the Court for the Correction of Errors, seventeen senators and judges taking part. In the Bridgford case the decision of the Surrogate of Albany was affirmed by the three judges of the General Term of the Supreme Court, then by the seven judges of the Court of Appeals. Had there been the slightest color of right in the claims of the heirs, some of the many judges who since the first formal trial in 1760 down to the present time have been officially called upon to examine these claims would naturally have expressed some regret at being obliged to decide adversely to them. No such expression of any equity on their part is anywhere to be found.

X.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION OF DR. PROVOOST AS FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

(i.) Act empowering the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consecrate to the office of a Bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions.
(ii.) His Majesty's License.
(iii.) Act of Consecration.
(iv.) Certificate of Consecration of the Bishop of New York.[1]

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ARCHBISHOP MOORE'S REGISTER

fo. 63.

Anno vicesimo sexto

Georgii III. Regis

Cap. lxxxiv.

America, Pensylvania, and New York.

An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop Persons being subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions.

Whereas by the Laws of this Realm no Person can be consecrated to the Office of a Bishop without the King's Licence for his Election to that Office and the Royal Mandate under the Great Seal for his Confirmation and Consecration. And whereas every Person who shall be consecrated to the said Office is required to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy And also the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop And whereas there are divers persons Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions and inhabiting and residing within the said Countries who profess the publick worship of Almighty God according to the Principles of the Church of England and who in order to provide a regular Succession of Ministers for the Service of their Church are desirous of having certain of the Subjects

[1] See p. 113.

or Citizens of those Countries consecrated Bishops according to the fform of Consecration in the Church of England Be it enacted by the King's Most excellent Majesty by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the passing of this Act, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York for the time being together with such other Bishops as they shall call to their assistance to consecrate persons being subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions, Bishops for the purposes aforesaid without the King's Licence for their Election, or the Royal Mandate under the Great Seal for their Confirmation and Consecration and without requiring them to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop for the time being.

II. Provided always that no persons shall be consecrated Bishops in the manner herein provided until the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being shall have first applied for and obtained his Majesty's Licence by Warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual, authorizing and empowering him to perform such Consecration and expressing the Name or Names of the Persons so to be Consecrated nor until the said Archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good Learning of the soundness of their ffaith and of the Purity of their Manners.

III. Provided also and be it hereby declared That no Person or Persons consecrated to the Office of a Bishop in the manner aforesaid nor any Person or Persons deriving their Consecration from or under any Bishop so consecrated nor any Person or Persons admitted to the Order of Deacon or Priest by any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated or by the Successor or Successors of any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated shall be thereby enabled to exercise his or their respective Office or Offices within his Majesty's Dominions.

IV. Provided always and be it further enacted, That a Certificate of such Consecration shall be given under the Hand and Seal of the Archbishop who consecrates containing the Name of the Person so consecrated, with the Addition as well of the Country whereof he is a Subject or Citizen as of the Church in which he is appointed Bishop, and the further description of his not having taken the said Oaths, being exempted from the Obligation of so doing by virtue of this Act.

FINIS.

George R.

His Majesty's License.

George the third by the Grace of God King of Great Britain ffrance and Ireland Defender of the ffaith &c. Whereas the most Reverend ffather in God Our Right Trusty and Right entirely beloved Councillor John Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England and Metropolitan hath humbly represented unto us That by An Act of Parliament passed in the twenty sixth Year of Our Reign entitled "An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop Persons being subjects or Citizens of Countries out of Our Dominions"—It is enacted and provided That no Person shall be consecrated Bishop in the manner in the said Act Provided until the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being shall have first applied for and obtained Our Licence by Warrant under Our Royal Signet and Sign Manual authorizing and empowering him to perform such Consecration and expressing the Name or Names of the Persons to be consecrated nor until the said Archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good Learning Of the soundness of their ffaith and of the Purity of their manners. And that the Revd William White D.D. Rector of Christ Church and St. Peters in the City of Philadelphia a Subject or Citizen of the United States of North America hath been elected to the Office of a Bishop by the Convention for the State of Pennsylvania one of the said United States And the Revd Samuel Provost D.D. Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York a Subject or Citizen also of the United States of North America hath been elected to the Office of a Bishop by the Convention for the State of New York one Other of the said United States, And Whereas the said John Archbishop of Canterbury hath further represented unto Us That he hath been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good Learning, the soundness of their ffaith and the Purity of their manners Therefore in pursuance of the said Act of Parliament he hath humbly besought Us to grant Our Royal Licence authorizing and empowering him the said John Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate the said William White and Samuel Provost to the Office of a Bishop respectively according to the Tenor of the said Act We taking the same into Our Royal Consideration are graciously pleased to consent thereunto And do by these Presents according to the Power reserved to Us by the said Act authorize and empower the said John Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate the said William White and Samuel Provost to the Office of a Bishop respectively. Given at Our Court at St. James's the

twenty fifth day of January 1787 in the twenty seventh Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

SYDNEY.

Act on Consecration.[1]

On Sunday the fourth day of ffebruary in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and in the fourth year of the Translation of the Most Reverend ffather in God John by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of All England and Metropolitan in the Chapel at the Palace of Lambeth in the County of Surry the said Most Reverend ffather by virtue and authority of a certain Licence or Warrant from his Most Gracious Majesty and Our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the ffaith and so forth to him in this behalf directed, the Most Reverend ffather in God William by the same Providence Lord Archbishop of York Primate of England and Metropolitan and the Right Reverend ffathers in God Charles by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells and John by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Peterborough assisting him, Consecrated the Reverend William White Doctor in Divinity Rector of Christ Church and Saint Peters in the City of Philadelphia a Subject or Citizen of the United States of North America and the Reverend Samuel Provost Doctor in Divinity Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York a Subject or Citizen also of the United States of North America to the Office of a Bishop respectively the Rites Circumstances and Ceremonies anciently used in the Church of England being observed and applied according to the Tenor of an Act passed in the twenty sixth Year of the Reign of his said Majesty entitled " An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions in the presence of me Robert Jenner Notary Publick one of the Deputy Registers of the Province of Canterbury being then and there present the Reverend and Worshipful William Backhouse Doctor in Divinity Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Reverend ——— Lort Doctor in Divinity, the Reverend ——— Drake Doctor in Divinity, William Dickes Esquire Notary Publick Secretary to his Grace the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury with many others then and there in great numbers assembled.

Which I attest

R^T JENNER N.P.

[1] Sic.

Certificate of Consecration of Bishop of New York.

To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come, or whom the same shall or may in any wise, or at any time concern, We John by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, Send Greeting. Whereas by an Act of Parliament passed at Westminster in the twenty sixth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain ffrance and Ireland intitled "An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions"—It is enacted—"That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being together with such other Bishops as they shall call to their Assistance to consecrate Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions Bishops for the purposes aforesaid, without the King's Licence for their Election or the Royal Mandate under the Great Seal for their Confirmation and Consecration and without requiring them to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop for the time being Provided always that no Persons shall be consecrated Bishops in the manner herein provided until the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being shall have first applied for and obtained his Majesty's Licence by Warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual authorising and empowering him to perform such Consecration and expressing the Name or Names of the Persons so to be consecrated, nor until the said Archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good Learning, of the soundness of their ffaith and of the Purity of their Manners Provided also, and be it hereby declared that no Person or Persons consecrated to the Office of a Bishop in the manner aforesaid, nor any Person or Persons deriving their Consecration from or under any Bishop so consecrated, nor any Person or Persons admitted to the Order of Deacon or Priest by any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated or by the Successor or Successors of any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated, shall be thereby enabled to exercise his or their respective Office or Offices within his Majesty's Dominions Provided always, and be it further enacted, That a Certificate of such Consecration shall be given under the Hand and Seal of the Archbishop who consecrates containing the Name of the Person so consecrated with the addition as well of the Country whereof he is a Subject or Citizen as of the Church in which he is appointed Bishop, and the further description of his not having taken the said Oaths, being exempted from the Obligation of so doing

by virtue of this Act "—Now know all Men by these Presents that We the said John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury having obtained his Majesty's Licence by Warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual did in pursuance of the said Act of Parliament on Sunday the fourth day of ffebruary in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven in the Chapel of Our Palace at Lambeth in the County of Surry admit our beloved in Christ Samuel Provost Clerk Doctor in Divinity a Subject or Citizen of the State of New York in North America and Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York in the said State of whose sufficiency in good Learning soundness in the ffaith and Purity of Manners We were fully ascertained into the Office of a Bishop of the Protestant [Episcopal] Church in the State of New York aforesaid to which the said Samuel Provost hath been elected by the Convention for the said State as appears unto us by due Testimony thereof by him produced and him the said Samuel Provost did then and there rightly and canonically consecrate a Bishop according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England, his taking the Oaths of Allegiance Supremacy and Canonical Obedience only excepted, he being exempted from the Obligation of taking the said Oaths by virtue of the above recited Act. Provided that neither he the said Bishop nor any Person or Persons deriving their Consecration from or under him, nor any Person or Persons admitted to the Order of Deacon or Priest by him, or his Successor or Successors shall be enabled to exercise his or their respective Office or Offices within his Majesty's Dominions In Testimony whereof we have caused Our Archiepiscopal Seal to be affixed to these Presents Given at Lambeth House the day and year abovewritten and in the fourth Year of Our Translation.

I have collated this copy with the original in Archbishop Moore's Register at Lambeth Palace and find it to be correct.

S. W. KERSHAW, M.A.
13 July, 1899.

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In the *Fac-Similes of Church Documents : Papers Issued by the Historical Club of the American Church, 1874–79, Privately Printed*, there are the following reprints and fac-similes of some interesting documents and letters bearing on this subject of the consecration of the first Bishop of New York.

(34) "Plan for obtaining consecration signed by the members of the General Convention of 1785."

(35) Letter of the English Bishops in answer to the address of the General Convention of 1785, dated London, February 24, 1776, and signed by the two Archbishops and seventeen Bishops.

(36 and 37) Letter of Dr. Provoost, dated New York, April 4, 1786, enclosing letter from Mr. Richard Henry Lee, which in turn enclosed copy of a letter from Mr. John Adams to his Excellency John Jay.

In this letter Mr. Adams states the result of his conversation with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the proposal to consecrate three Bishops in England for the American Church.

(38) Letter from the Archbishop of England to the Committee of the General Convention.

(39) Black-Letter Act of Parliament, authorizing the consecration of Bishops for America.

(40) Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Committee of the General Convention enclosed the above act.

XI.

NOTES ON THE BOOKS FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF BISHOP PROVOOST, BUT NOW BELONGING TO GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

(1) Containing Sermons on Regeneration in Baptism.

i. The Doctrine of Regeneration Asserted and Explained: A Sermon, preached in St. George's Chapel, New York, July 7, 1791. The Second Edition. By Benjamin Moore, D.D. New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, in Hanover Square, 1792.

ii. The Character of Simon the Sorcerer.
A Sermon, designed to prove that Baptism is Not Regeneration. By William Linn, D.D. One of the Ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church, in the City of New York. New York. Printed by Thomas Greenleaf. M,DCC,XC,III.

iii. An Address to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of New York; Occasioned by the Appendix to Dr. Linn's Sermon on the Character of Simon the Sorcerer. By Benjamin Moore, D.D. New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible in Hanover Square, 1793.

In this controversy Dr. Moore ably vindicates the doctrine of the Church, maintaining that Regeneration is effected in Baptism, and in his appendix quotes the constitutions of the Reformed Dutch, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches in support of his argument that these bodies themselves officially connect Regeneration with Baptism.

In his reply Dr. Linn labors to prove that Regeneration is not a necessary consequence of the administration of Baptism.

In his rejoinder Dr. Moore meets Dr. Linn's arguments and quotes this time from Basil, Theodoret, Chrysostom, Justin Martyr, and other ancient doctors, showing that this doctrine of Regeneration by Baptism is no new doctrine. An impartial reader of this controversy will certainly rise from its perusal convinced that Dr. Moore has the best of the argument on every point.

This book has on the inside of the cover Bishop Provoost's book-plate.

(2) Volumes I and II of Alciphron, Or the Minute Philosopher. In Seven Dialogues. Containing an Apology for the Christian Religion, against those who are called Free Thinkers. London: Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand, 1732.

Both these volumes contain Bishop Provoost's book-plate, but, curiously enough, in both instances the mitre which is over the coat of arms is cut or torn off.

(3) The Gospel Sanctuary: Or God's Name Recorded in Places of Publick Worship. By P. Cardale. London, Printed for John Noon in Cheapside. 1740.

This volume contains the Bishop's book-plate and also his signature at the end of the volume. This volume possesses the additional interest of having on the fly-leaf the autograph "Flo: e Smyth." According to the note of General Wilson, Florence Smyth, of London, was a friend of Cardale, and a descendant of Captain John Smith, or Smyth, of historic fame as sometime Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England.

(4) XXVIII. Sermons Preached at Golden Grove: Being for the Summer Half Year, Beginning on Whit Sunday, and ending on the XXV. Sunday after Trinity, Together with a Discourse on the Divine Institution, Necessity, Sacredness, and Separation of the Office Ministeriall. By Jeremy Taylor, D.D. London, Printed by R. N. for Richard Royston at the Angel, in Ivie-Lane. 1651.

This folio volume of 344 pp. with rubricated title contains the signature "Sam[l] Provost", also the following note in the Bishop's handwriting: "Doctor Jeremy Taylor was the son of a Barber at Cambridge.

He was educated at Caius College in that University, where he took his Master of Arts Degree. After entering into orders and preaching for a time in London, he was by the interest of Archbishop Laud, admitted Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. In the civil war he attended as Chaplain in the King's Army and upon the decline of the Royal Cause he retired to Golden Grove, a seat of the Earl of Carbury's in Wales, under whose protection he preached the following sermons and published a great number of books. Upon the restoration of Charles the Second, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Down and Connor in Ireland, Anno Dom, 1662. He died the 13th of August, 1667. He is characterized by his contemporary authors as a divine of great Wit, Judgment, Learning and Piety." This quaint and beautiful volume contains the following colophon: "The Printer to the Reader. The absence of the Author, and his inconvenient distance from London, hath occasioned some lesser escapes in the impression of these Sermons, and the Discourse annexed. The Printer thinks it the best instance of pardon if his Escapes be not layd upon the Author, and he hopes they are no greater than an ordinary understanding may amend, and a little charity may forgive."

(5) Remains Concerning Britain: Their Languages, Names, Surnames &c. Written by William Camden Esquire, Clarenceux, King of Arms, Surnamed the Learned. The Seventh Impression, much amended, with many Antiquities never before Imprinted. London. Printed for and sold by *Charles Harper* at the *Flower de Luce* over against *St. Dunstan's* Church, and *John Amery* at the *Peacock* over against *Fetter Lane*, both in *Fleet Street*, 1764. Ben Jonson, it will be remembered, addressed some fine lines to Camden.

(6) A Vindication of Christ's Divinity: Being a Defense of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the Holy Trinity. In Answer to a Clergyman in the Country. By Daniel Waterland, D.D. Master of Magdalen College in Cambridge and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Printed for Corn. Crownfield, Printer to the University, Cambridge, 1721.

XII.

ORDINATION OF BENJAMIN MOORE TO THE DIACONATE AND PRIESTHOOD.

Certified Extracts from the Registry of the Diocese of London.

EXTRACTED from the Registry of the Diocese of London at Doctors' Commons.

Ordination Book, 1675–1809.

The Names and Surnames of all and singular the persons admitted into Holy Orders by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of London in the Chapel within the palace at Fulham. On the twenty-fourth day of June in the year of our Lord 1774 . . . on the same day Benjamin Moore. A.M. of King's College New York was admitted to the Holy Order of a Deacon.

The Names and Surnames of all and singular the persons admitted into Holy Orders by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of London in the Chapel within the Palace at Fulham ——— on the twenty-ninth day of June in the year of our Lord 1774 Benjamin Moore, A.M. of King's College, New York was admitted to the Holy Order of a Priest.

HARRY A. LEE,
Registrar.

H. E. T.

XIII.

PAMPHLETS IN THE CAVE JONES CONTROVERSY.

A Solemn Appeal to the Church, being a plain Statement of Facts in the Matters Pending between Dr. Hobart with Others and the Author.

By the Rev. Cave Jones, A.M., one of the Assistant Ministers of Trinity Church, New-York. Together with an Appendix containing a statement of the case of the Rev. Mr. Feltus: Under his own hand. "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doeth?" St. John, ch. 7, v. 51.

New-York. Printed for the Author 1811. (104 pages.)

A Word in Season, touching the Present Misunderstanding in the Episcopal Church. By a Layman.[1]

[1] Supposed to be William Irving.

"The tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things: behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." James, chap. iii., ver. 5.

New-York. D. & G. Bruce, 1811. (59 pages.)

Letter to the Vestry of Trinity Church by Bishop Hobart in answer to a Pamphlet entitled "a Solemn Appeal to the Church by the Rev. Cave Jones." To which is added an Appendix by the Rev. T. Y. How. New-York: Printed for E. Sargeant, 1811. (113 + 20 pages.)

Dr. Hobart's System of Intolerance exemplified in the late proceedings against his Colleague, the Author.

By the Rev. Cave Jones, A.M., one of the Assistant Ministers of Trinity Church. "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous Judgment." 1 Jo. 7, 24.[1] "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" Gal. 4, 16.

New-York. Printed for the Author, 1811. (82 pages.)

A Plain Address to Episcopalians on the Proposed Meeting at Mechanic-Hall. By An Episcopalian.

New-York, January 13, 1812. (4 pages. No title-page.)

The Resolutions of Certain Episcopalians at Mechanic-Hall Considered.

New-York, January 10, 1812. (15 pages. No title-page.)

A Dialogue between an Episcopalian & a Presbyterian on the subject of the late meeting of some Episcopalians at Mechanic-Hall in the City of New-York. January 23, 1812. (8 pages.)

The Resolutions adopted at a Meeting of the Episcopalians at Mechanic Hall. Also two Letters from the Honorable John Jay, to the Rev. Cave Jones.

New-York, February, 1812. (12 pages.)

Remarks on the Hon. John Jay's Letter to the Rev. Cave Jones; In a Letter to a Friend.[2] February, 1812. (24 pages.)

The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. Addressed to the Rev. Cave Jones; and recommended to the consideration of all whom it may concern.

New-York, February 10, 1812. (22 pages.)

An Address to the Committee, acting under the authority of the meeting at Mechanic-Hall, on the subject of the Memorial lately presented by them to the Vestry of Trinity Church.

New-York, February 25, 1812. (14 pages.)

[1] An evident misprint for St. John 7, 24.

[2] Believed to have been written by Dr. Hobart himself.

A Statement addressed to the Episcopalians in the State of New-York relative to some recent events in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the said State.[1]

New-York, T. & J. Swords, 1812. (99 pages.)

Prelatical Usurpation Exposed: or a Vindication of the exclusive right of jurisdiction in the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, as diocesan Bishop of the P. E. Church in the State of New-York. With an Appendix relating to the case of the Rev. Cave Jones. By Vindex.

"The servant is not greater than his lord." St. John.

"A Bishop must be blameless . . . of good behaviour . . . not a brawler . . . not a *novice* . . . moreover he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach." St. Paul.

"If principles be false and doctrines unwarrantable, no apology can make them right; if founded in truth and rectitude, no censure from others can make them wrong." Blackstone.

"Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum." Horace.

1812. (71 pages).

The Essentials of Ordination stated, in a letter to a friend; on the subject of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart's consecration. By John Bowden, D.D., Professor of Belles-Lettres in Columbia College. New-York. Printed by James Oram, 1812. (22 pages.)

Serious thoughts on a late administration of Episcopal orders, submitted to the calm reflection of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church with a postscript in answer to Dr. Bowden's "Essentials of Ordination Stated." By Hieronymus. New-York, March, 1812. (80 pages.)

A Defence of the essentials of ordination in answer to a pamphlet entitled serious thoughts on a late administration of Episcopal orders.[2] New-York. T. & J. Swords, 1812. (53 pages.)

A Brief Statement relative to the late election of Wardens and Vestrymen in Trinity Church, and in the other Parishes of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of New-York. New-York, April, 1812. (4 pages. No title-page.)

Sworn Statement by Dr. Hobart, before Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Recorder of the City of New-York, on November 23, 1813.

[1] By Dr. Hobart.

[2] Believed to be by Dr. Bowden.

Documents relative to the Submission to Arbitration between the Rev. Cave Jones and the Corporation of Trinity Church. New York: T. & J. Swords, 1813. (59 pages.)

Report of the case between the Rev. Cave Jones and the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York in Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York.

As the same was argued before the five Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New York—Arbitrators to whom the differences between the parties were referred by a rule of the said Court.

By Matthew L. Davis. New-York. Printed by William A. Davis, 1813. (587 pages.)

XIV.

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE CONSECRATION OF GRACE CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

On Wednesday, December 21, 1808, being the festival of St. Thomas, Grace Church, at the corner of Rector Street and Broadway, was consecrated by the Right Rev. Bishop Moore. After the consecration service morning prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Lyell,[1] Rector of Christ Church, and a sermon suited to the occasion preached by the Rev. Mr. How,[2] an assistant minister of Trinity Church.

[1] Thomas, son of John and Sarah Lyell, was born in Richmond County, Virginia, on May 31, 1775. In 1792 he was appointed a Methodist circuit-rider in Frederick County, Va. He was afterwards in Providence, Rhode Island. About 1799 he was chosen a chaplain of Congress. On June 14, 1804, he was made deacon by Bp. Claggett. In the same year he was elected Rector of Christ Church in New York City to succeed the Rev. Dr. Pilmore. He was ordained priest by Bp. Moore. He remained in his parish until his death on March 4, 1848. He was the trusted friend of Bp. Hobart, a member of the Standing Committee, deputy to the General Convention, and filled many other positions of honor and trust.

[2] Thomas Yardley How ([1]), a college mate and old friend of Bp. Hobart and Dr. Beasley, was a graduate of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). He studied law and in 1805 was practising in Albany, N. Y. By the influence of his friends he returned to his first intention, pursued a course in theology under Dr. Beasley of St. Peter's, Albany, 1808, was made deacon by Bp. Moore on June 15, 1808, and on July 14, 1808, he became an assistant in Trinity Parish. In 1816 he was made Assistant Rector of Trinity Church. "He was," says Dr. Berrian, "an accomplished scholar, a sound divine, and a clear and forcible reasoner." He was deposed in 1818 for causes affecting his moral character. His life was prolonged to old age, in which he repented bitterly and was exemplary and devout.

[1] Also Howe.

This Church was erected at the expense of the Corporation of Trinity Church, under the direction of Rufus King, Anthony L. Bleecker, and Moses Rogers, Esqrs., a Committee of the Vestry appointed for the purpose.

We have been furnished with the following description of the building. This edifice forms a parallellogram of 101 feet within the walls in length, and 57 feet in width, the largest Church the ground would admit of. The exterior of this building is composed principally of brick, without any pretensions to the regular orders of architecture; the projections are marble and wood; the cornice, which is Doric, is well imagined, and as well executed: it is surmounted with an appropriate ballustrade subdivided by pannels, the beauty of which entirely atones for the want of taste so evident below.

The cupola which terminates the structure is composed of wood. It is of a cyclindrical form, resting on an octangular pedestal, enriched with three quarter columns of the ancient Ionic order, supporting the dome roof, from which springs a small fanciful spire, in which is inserted the vane, representing a dart.

The interior of this building presents a lofty concave ceiling, pannelled after some of our best models, supported by four massy columns, in the Grecian Ionic order, with corresponding pilasters. On one end is the organ loft, on the other the chancel in the form of a semi-rotunda. The fine effect of the pannels diverging from the centre, the pilasters between the windows, and the very elegant mahogany railing to the communion table, present one of the most beautiful chancels in the United States. The reading desk, which corresponds with the leading order of the whole (the Ionic), is square, and presents a handsome front to the entrance of the middle aisle, and is composed of two three quarter columns and two pilasters supporting a light dentil cornice. The clerk's desk projects from between the two columns in the impost and is finished on the top by the capping of the same. From behind the reading desk rises the pulpit, which is of a cylindrical shape, supported by an ancient Doric shaft, without a base: the canopy is suspended from the concave in the chancel, and has high pretensions to novelty and beauty. The stairs, which are of the geometrical kind, are neat and elegant. The building is warmed on a new plan. The fire is made in furnaces erected in the foundation and the heat diffuses itself by means of stone flues under the pavement of the aisles, and affords an equable warmth.[1]

[1] *The Churchman's Magazine*, vol. vi., No. 1, January and February, 1809, pp. 79, 80.

XV.

BISHOP SEABURY'S "INTRUSION" AT HEMPSTEAD, N. Y., A.D. 1785, AND BISHOP PROVOOST'S "INTRUSION" AT NARRAGANSETT, R. I., A.D. 1792:

CONSIDERED BY

THE REV. JOSEPH HOOPER, M.A.

The visit of Bishop Seabury, in November, 1785, to his old home at Hempstead and his ordination in St. George's Church of Mr. John Lowe of Virginia to the diaconate and priesthood, deserve a fuller consideration than could be given in the text.

At that time Bishop Seabury was the only Bishop within the United States. He was aware of the trouble and expense of the long voyage to England when candidates for holy orders "went home" for ordination.

Until other American dioceses were duly organized under an Episcopal head, he was willing to ordain those who presented themselves with proper credentials.

Colin Ferguson, one of the first deacons ordained in this country, was not from the Diocese of Connecticut.[1] In a letter to the Rev. Dr, William Smith, the famous Provoost of the College of Pennsylvania. dated at "New London, August 15, 1785," Bishop Seabury says: "Till you are so happy as to have a Bishop of your own, it will be a pleasure to me to do everything I can for the supply of your churches. And I am confident that the clergy of Maryland and the other States will be very particular with regard to the qualifications and titles of

[1] "At an ordination held in Christ's Church, in the city of Middletown on the third day of August, 1785,

Colin Ferguson, A.M., of Washington College, Maryland	Recommended by Dr. Wm. Smith, Revd. Messrs. John McPherson Wm. Thompson, and others.
Henry Van Dyke, A.M. Ashbel Baldwin, A.M. Philo Shelton, A.M.	Recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut

Were admitted deacons."

P. 3 of "A Registry of Ordinations by the Bishop of Connecticut" in "A Reprint in full of the Registry of Ordinations by Bishops Seabury and Jarvis," published as an appendix to the *Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Connecticut*, 1882; also, in pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 16.

persons to be admitted into their own Order. Should they think proper to send any candidates hither I could wish that it might be at the stated times of Ordination; because the clergy here, living so scattered, it is not easy on every emergency to get three of them together; and never without some expense which they cannot well afford. I cannot omit to mention again the particular satisfaction Mr. Ferguson gave, not only to me but to all our clergy. I hope he will prove a worthy and useful clergyman."[1]

During the summer and fall of that year Bishop Seabury ordained several candidates from various States, two of them being recommended by Dr. White of Philadelphia and Dr. Benjamin Moore of New York.

The Church in Virginia had been prostrated during the Revolution, its temporalities had been practically seized by the State, and there was no immediate prospect of the consecration of a Bishop. It was under these unfavorable circumstances that a young man from Fredericksburgh sought holy orders. He was anxious to be at work and brought with him letters of commendation from several of the best-known clergymen of Virginia. Whether he came to New York and announced his intention through Dr. Moore, or a special appointment for Hempstead had been previously made, cannot now be known.

Bishop Seabury was a prudent man. In the unsettled condition of the Church "to the southward" and the open hostility shown to him by many in the General Convention of 1785 he would not willingly incur further censure of his acts. He was well versed in canon law, Ancient, Mediæval, and Anglican.

He knew that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in the former colonies had ceased when they became free and independent States, but he also was convinced that as yet no legitimate succession to that jurisdiction had taken place in the State of New York. Could he not act as a Bishop of the Catholic Church in bestowing upon those who desired them blessings and privileges which otherwise they must forego?

Upon this question the Rev. Dr. William Jones Seabury[2] says: "But it is obvious that where there was no recognized jurisdiction existing neither the Apostles nor their successors were under any obligation to suspend action where they thought it necessary or expedient, as appears from their action in extending their ministrations among the heathen. And while in the case in question there is no doubt that the Bishop was

[1] *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury*, D.D., by E. E. Beardsley, D.D., Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1881, pp. 230, 231.

[2] The Charles and Elizabeth Ludlow Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Theological Seminary, New York City.

beyond his own particular jurisdiction, it is not equally plain that he was within that of any other. So far as Episcopal jurisdiction, properly so called, is concerned it is manifest that there was no other existing upon which his act was an intrusion." [1]

During Colonial times all parishes, whether in New England, the Middle Colonies, or the south, were equally under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and any priest holding the Bishop's license could officiate in any part of the plantations, provided his ministrations were acceptable to the people and in conformity to the English canons.

There were no canons of the American Church upon this subject until a later date. It required time to impress upon the people diocesan boundaries, and only as an occasion like this arose was the necessity for them perceived.

But Bishop Seabury was within the limits of the Diocese of New York, which had been organized in June, 1785. Did not the Bishop by his act defy the ecclesiastical authority of that Diocese? Dr. Seabury in his "opinion" says: "The association of representatives of the Church in the State of New York into a convention a month or two previous to the date of this act, however important in its bearing upon the future life of the Church in the State and its relation to the Church in other States, would hardly by that time have taken such shape in the minds of men as to make it plain to all that the right to perform the functions of the ministry in that State was to be exercised subject to its authority and not otherwise than with its permission. And an opportunity being offered for conferring ministerial authority upon one who needed that authority for the furtherance of the work of the Church, it does not seem that the only Bishop in any of the States, and the only Bishop likely to be in any of the States for an indefinite time to come, needed to hesitate about using that opportunity." [2]

If, however, Bishop Seabury is not justly censurable for an infraction of diocesan rights, was he not to be condemned for disregarding the Constitution of the American Church adopted at Philadelphia on Thursday, October 4, 1785?

The sixth article provides that "every Bishop shall confine the exercise of his office to his proper jurisdiction; unless requested to ordain or confirm by any church destitute of a Bishop." [3]

This constitution was binding only upon those dioceses which had

[1] Extract from a manuscript opinion sent to the writer in August, 1900.

[2] Extract from Prof. Seabury's MS. opinion.

[3] *Reprint of the Journals of the General Convention, 1784–1817.* Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1817, p. 9.

acceded to it. No deputies from New England were present. Bishop Seabury and his clergy had been informally invited by Dr. White, but did not attend, as they thought the office of a Bishop had been degraded by the *Fundamental Principles* of 1784.

The Bishop of Connecticut could not consider that the action of that Convention placed any restraint upon his Episcopal acts. As a matter of fact only a very brief account of its proceedings appeared in the papers of the day, and there were very few correspondents of the Connecticut clergy or its Bishop who were in attendance.

It would, then, appear that there was no proper ecclesiastical authority to prohibit his officiating within the territorial limits of the State of New York.

He had many friends in Hempstead to whom it was a pleasure to minister. Of the regard of these friends Dr. Moore, the historian of St. George's, thus writes: "Bishop Seabury was regarded by the Churchmen of Hempstead with pride and affection as the child of the parish; and he reciprocated the feeling. Through all his after years he frequently revisited the scenes of his youth and the home of his numerous relatives." [1]

There is a brief account of the ordination in *The New-York Packet* for November 10, 1785, which has already been given on p. 107 of the text.

The Rev. Thomas Lambert Moore, Rector of the parish, makes this entry in his Diary:

"1785, Novr 2^{d} Wednesday—Read the morning service previous to Mr. Jno. Lowe of Virginia receiving confirmation and Deacon's Orders.

"Novr 3^{d} Thursday—After morning service Read by the Rev^{d} Mr. Bloomer, and a sermon by the Bishop the same gentleman was solemnly ORDAINED PRIEST." [2]

In entering the record in his Register Bishop Seabury makes no distinction between it and those which were held in the Diocese of Connecticut. It is a "special ordination" simply because it was not held at the stated times of ordination.[3]

In the extract from Dr. Provoost's letter to Dr. White given in

[1] *History of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.*, by the Rev. William H. Moore, D.D., Rector of St. George's Church, Hempstead, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881, p. 16.

[2] *History of St. George's Church, Hempstead*, p. 165.

[3] "At a special Ordination held in St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, New York, on Novr 2^{d} 1785, John Lowe of Fredericksburgh, Virginia, recommended by the Revd Messrs Robert Buchan, Francis Wilson, Rodham Hamer, was admitted Deacon, and at an Ordination held in the same Church on Novr 3^{d} 1785, the above named John Lowe was ordered Priest."—P. 4, Register of Ordinations.

Bishop Perry's *Half Century of Legislation*,[1] it is to be noted that the writer does not lay especial emphasis upon the Episcopal acts of Bishop Seabury on Long Island, but dwells upon the danger to which the Bishop had exposed himself of arrest for "misprision of treason."

Dr. Provoost was, apparently, less concerned about the official acts of confirmation and ordination among the old parishioners of Dr. Seabury's father, than apprehensive that some measures might be concerted by the "Non-Juring Bishop" and his adherents by which the Scottish succession would be exalted above the English and the application to the Archbishops for the consecration of Bishops for America be in some way thwarted or delayed. In a second letter to Dr. White he says: "If we may judge from appearances, Dr. Cebra and his friends are using every art to prevent the success of our application to the English prelates. . . . He certainly would never have run the risque he did by coming to New-York, unless some political ends of consequence were to be answered by it."[2] While according to our present constitution and canons such an exercise of Episcopal powers would be severely condemned and could justly be called an "intrusion," there seems to be no contemporary evidence to show that it was so regarded even by Dr. Provoost.

One of our learned canonists, the Rev. Dr. Hart, Secretary of the House of Bishops, says: "I am inclined to think that in those early days before canons had been devised for use here, the canonical instinct was undeveloped and that Bishops officiated when and where they were asked if they were so disposed. I doubt if either party thought at all seriously of intrusion. Very likely in those days a good part of Long Island was considered to belong to Connecticut. I think the formal decision by the Courts was later."[3]

After considering the circumstances under which Mr. Lowe was ordained, the Rev. Dr. Seabury says in conclusion:

"To judge the exercise of such discretion at that time and under those circumstances by the standards and circumstances of the present day would be manifestly unjust. The power being in him and him only and no existing rights of any other Bishop of the Church being impaired by the exercise of it, there would seem to be need of very plain and positive evidence that such exercise was hurtful to the Church before it could rightly be condemned."[4]

[1] Vol. iii., p. 283.

[2] Extract of letter dated "New York, Dec. 28, 1785," as quoted in Bishop Perry's *Half Century of Legislation*, iii., p. 284.

[3] MS. letter of the Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., to the writer, August 23, 1900.

[4] MS. opinion of Dr. Seabury.

The judgment of charity would incline us to agree with the learned descendant of the first Bishop of the American Church, and to determine that the visit of Bishop Seabury to Long Island was, under all the circumstances, necessary and justifiable, and not intended as an act of intrusion.

Nearly seven years after, the Bishop of Connecticut felt that he had just cause of complaint against his brother of New York.

Bishop Provoost had accepted the recommendation by the Standing Committee of Massachusetts of Mr. Walter C. Gardiner for ordination to the diaconate. On invitation of the clergy of Massachusetts, Mr. Gardiner, then "reader" in St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, and some members of that parish, the Bishop of New York visited the ancient parish of St. Paul, Narragansett, now Wickford, and on June 24, 1792, made Mr. Gardiner a deacon.

The parish had been organized in 1702; its church building, which is still standing, was erected in 1707. It was largely composed of gentlemen of wealth and refinement who lived in idyllic ease upon their extensive estates in that fertile portion of Rhode Island.

For thirty-seven years it had enjoyed the fruitful ministrations of the Rev. Dr. James Mac Sparran, whose *Diary*[1] recently published gives us pleasant and curious glimpses of colonial life.

After the Revolution the Rev. William Smith, learned, brilliant, and eccentric, became the Rector. He had little tact, positive opinions, and dogmatic ways. He soon involved himself in controversies with leading members of the parish, and strife and contention succeeded to unity and peace. He finally resigned in January, 1790, leaving a sadly divided parish.

It was not until January, 1791, that a choice was made of a "reader." Dr. Walter C. Gardiner, who then took charge of the parish, was born within its limits. He had been a member of its vestry and a well known physician. Under him there was little improvement, as he was not a man inclined to peace and quiet. The difficulties culminated when Dr. Gardiner and a portion of the parish refused to become a part of the Diocese of Rhode Island, which had been organized in Trinity Church, Newport, on November 18, 1790.

By the action of this primary convention Dr. Seabury was "declared

[1] *A Letter Book and Abstract of Out Services.* Written during the years 1743–1751, by the Rev. James Mac Sparran, Doctor in Divinity. . . . Edited . . . by the Rev. Daniel Goodwin, Ph.D. . . . Boston: D. B. Updike. The Merrymount Press, A.D. 1899.

the Bishop of the Church in this State," and a committee appointed to address him on the subject." [1]

In an affectionate letter to the committee Bishop Seabury accepted the charge and announced that he would " visit your churches as soon as the spring season will permit." [2]

The parish at Narragansett still remained recalcitrant. Mr. Gardiner had privately obtained a testimonial and applied to the Standing Committee of Massachusetts for admission as a candidate for Holy Orders. Various members of the parish supported him and desired to unite St. Paul's Church with the Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts. Mr. Gardiner, presumably with the assent, and probably at the suggestion, of the members of the committee, had asked Bishop Provoost to ordain him. Had the ordination taken place within the Diocese of New York it would not have seemed such an affront to the Bishop in charge of Rhode Island and the other ecclesiastical authorities of that Diocese.

The course of Bishop Provoost was carefully taken. It was unfortunate that the relations between the Bishops of New York and Connecticut were such that no frank and full correspondence on the subject could take place.

There was at that time no canon prohibiting a parish from uniting with the Church in a State other than that in which it was situated. Bishop Provoost knew that the few parishes in Rhode Island were under the care of Bishop Seabury, and since the union of the Church in 1789 he was reluctant to excite fresh controversy. His consultation with friends of Bishop Seabury in New York was creditable. Had he known all the circumstances he probably would not have yielded to the solicitations of those who were practically in a state of schism.

Bishop Seabury said nothing publicly upon the subject until after he had attended the Convention of Rhode Island, which was held in Providence early in August, 1793. The case of Mr. Gardiner came before

[1] " Voted : by this Convention that the Churches in this State be immediately united under a Bishop.

" Voted : that the Right Rev. Father in GOD, Samuel Seabury, D.D., Bishop of Connecticut be and he is hereby declared the Bishop of the Church in this State.

" That the Rev. Moses Badger and William Smith be requested to write to and address him on this subject and that the letter of recognition and Episcopal acceptance be entered upon the Journals of this Convention ; and further that copies of said letters be transmitted to the respective churches of this State to be entered on their records." —I., p. 196, *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport.* George C. Mason: Newport 890.

[2] *Annals of Trinity Church, Newport*, I., p. 199.

that Convention for discussion and decision. It was stated at that time that he was supported by a minority of St. Paul's congregation. His course in refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Bishop Seabury had given rise to much unfavorable comment and scandal. He was given a limited time in which to consider what he would do. A seat in the Convention was refused to him until he yielded canonical obedience to the Bishop in charge and signed the Constitution of the Diocese. He finally submitted to these terms, and St. Paul's, Narragansett, sent delegates to the Convention.[1]

Bishop Seabury thought he had good reason for remonstrance. Previous to the meeting of the General Convention of 1795[2] he sent to Bishop White a letter "respectfully and affectionately complaining of the matter."[3]

Bishop White says that "Bishop Provoost, on the letter's being read to him, said that on receiving the letter from the clergy of Massachusetts, he had doubted of the propriety of the proposal in it; but that on consulting the clergy of New York, and especially those in the most intimacy with Bishop Seabury, he was advised by them to compliance; but that he perceived objections to such conduct in individual congregations, and would much approve of a canon to prevent it."[4]

With the exception of the brief statement of Bishop White here cited, and a longer narrative, evidently condensed from manuscript authorities, by Dr. Beardsley in his *Life of Bishop Seabury*, there are no printed accounts of the incident. Dr. Beardsley, whose accuracy and impartiality are well known, unhesitatingly calls the act "an intrusion into his jurisdiction."[5]

We cannot now obtain the reasons which induced the Standing Committee of Massachusetts to uphold Mr. Gardiner and the minority of St. Paul's, Narragansett, in their open defiance of the authorities of the Church in Rhode Island. The correspondence of Dr. Parker is not in the Massachusetts diocesan archives, nor are there any documents bearing upon the case of Mr. Gardiner.[6]

[1] *Life of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 432, 433.

[2] Bishop Seabury and all the New England deputies were kept away from that Convention by the prevalence of yellow fever in New York City and the interdiction of all intercourse between New York and Philadelphia.

[3] Bishop White, *Memoirs* (edition 1880), pp. 200, 201.

[4] Bishop White, *Memoirs* (edition of 1880), p. 201.

[5] Dr. E. E. Beardsley, *Life of Bishop Seabury*, p. 449.

[6] "I regret to say that we have in our archives no papers relating to the candidacy of Mr. Walter Gardiner."—MS. letter of the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D.D., Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts, to the writer, November 6, 1900.

We may heartily regret the occurrence, and from all the evidence attainable conclude that Bishop Provoost was misled into doing an act which he afterward disapproved. At the General Convention of 1795 a canon was passed regulating the status of parishes within a State, and prohibiting them from uniting with the Church in any other State. With a slight verbal change it is still in force.[1] Bishop Provoost advocated, and possiby proposed, this canon, and thus showed his desire for peace and harmony in the American Church.

The career of the priest who commenced his ministry at Narragansett was a turbulent and unhappy one. His parishioners at Narragansett soon became dissatisfied with him and he removed to Hudson, N. Y. His career there was very harmful to the parish. The same experience befell him at Stamford (now Hobart), Delaware County, N. Y. Bishop Claggett, of Maryland, thus mentions him: "I regret that I am obliged to say that the Rev[d] Mr. Gardiner since my acquaintance with him, six or seven years ago, has resided in five different states and he has scarcely I believe ever left one of these states without convulsing the Church in it by some public dispute with his brethren."[2]

Mr. Gardiner ended his ministry in Virginia about 1810.[3]

From this review of the acts of Bishop Seabury at Hempstead and of Bishop Provoost at Narragansett, we may confidently affirm that they were done without malice or any wish to contravene settled principles of the Catholic Church or of the Anglican portion of it.

They show that the Church in her infancy in America needed such experiences to enable her to legislate wisely for her future governance and welfare.

XVI.

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO IN PART II.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London. MDCCLVII and MDCCLVIII.

A Letter Book and Abstract of Out Services Written during the Years 1743–1751. By the Rev. JAMES MAC SPARRAN, Doctor in Divinity, and sometime Rector of Saint Paul's Church, Narragansett, Rhode Island. Edited with sketch of the author and numerous notes. By the Rev. DANIEL GOODWIN, Ph.D., lately Rector of the same

[1] This canon will be found in *Reprint of the Journals*, John Bioren, 1817, p. 156. It is now § 1, Canon 3, Title III., Digest, 1898, p. 126.

[2] *MS. Archives, Diocese of Maryland*, vol. xix., R. 7, 1806.

[3] Ethan Allen, D.D., *Maryland Clergy*, p. 25. Baltimore: James S. Waters, 1860.

Parish. With Portraits. Printed and published by D. B. Updike. Boston: The Merrymount Press, A.D. 1899.

Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of the Episcopal Church in the United States, From the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-five. With an Historical Introduction. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1859.

Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, 1698–1821. By GEORGE CHAMPLIN MASON. George C. Mason, Newport, Rhode Island, 1890.

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Commercial Advertiser. First number issued on October 2, 1797. (Filed in the Library of the New York Historical Society.)

Daily Advertiser, The. The first daily paper issued in New York, begun in 1785. (Filed in the Library of the New York Historical Society.)

Early Life, The, and Professional Years of Bishop Hobart. By JOHN MCVICAR, D.D., Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Political Economy in Columbia College, New-York. With a Preface containing a History of the Church in America by Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Oxford: D. A. Talboys, London, MDCCCXXXVIII.

Evergreen (The), or Church-Offering for all Seasons; a Repository of Religious, Literary, and Entertaining Knowledge for the Christian Family. Edited by JOSEPH SALKELD. Ten volumes. New Haven: Published by Salkeld, Hitchcock, and Stafford, 1844–1853.

Fac-Similes of Church Documents. Papers issued by the HISTORICAL CLUB OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH, 1874–79. Privately printed.

Gospel Messenger and Church Record of Western New York, The. Utica, Friday morning, Nov. 9, 1888. Rev. WILLIAM A. MATSON, M. A., Editor. De Witt C. Grove, Publisher. Vol. xxix., No. 13.

Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church. Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States, 1785–1835. Published by authority of the General Convention. Edited by WILLIAM STEVENS

PERRY, D.D. In three volumes. Claremont, N. H.: The Claremont Manufacturing Company, 1874.

Historical Sketch of Christ Church, New York City. By WILLIAM G. DAVIES. Privately printed.

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Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New-York. By the Rev. WILLIAM BERRIAN, D.D., the Rector of the same. New York: Stanford and Swords, 1847.

History of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y. By the Rev. WILLIAM H. MOORE, D.D., Rector of St. George's Church, Hempstead. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881.

History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany. By the Rev. JOSEPH HOOPER, M.A., Sometime Registrar of the Diocese of Albany, Lecturer upon American Church History, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. With an Introduction and description of the Present Edifice and its Memorials by the Rev. WALTON W. BATTERSHALL, D.D., Rector of Saint Peter's Church. Albany, N. Y. Fort Orange Press.

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Hobart MSS. In custody of the Registrar of the General Convention. Church Missions House, New York, N. Y.

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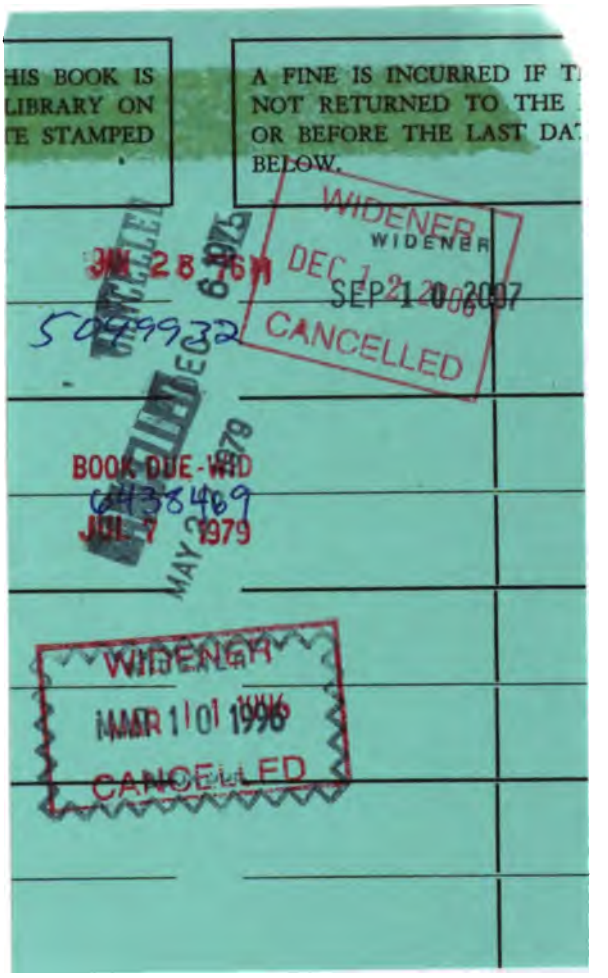
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